

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, January 24, 1973

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D. D., offered the following prayer:

*Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me.—Psalm 23: 4.*

O God and Father of us all, in deep sadness of heart we lift our spirits unto Thee as we journey through the valley of the shadow of death with the family of our beloved Lyndon Baines Johnson. We thank Thee for his long and distinguished service to his State and our country, for his contribution as a Member of this body, as Senator, as Vice President, and for his leadership as President of our Republic.

We are grateful for his integrity of mind, his sincerity of heart, his seeking the best ways to do the best things, for his dedication to freedom among men and to justice for men and for his efforts on behalf of peace in our world.

Grant unto his family and friends the comfort of Thy presence and the assurance of Thy love. Strengthen them with courage and faith for the days that lie ahead.

O Lord, we are most grateful for the coming peace to our world. May it continue forever and ever and ever. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a resolution of the following title as follows:

S. RES. 24

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, a former President of the United States, and a former Representative and former Senator from the State of Texas.

*Resolved*, That in recognition of his illustrious statesmanship, his leadership in national and world affairs, his distinguished public service to his State and his Nation, and as a mark of respect to one who has held such eminent public station in life, the Presiding Officer of the Senate appoint a committee to consist of all of the Members of the Senate to attend the funeral of the former President.

*Resolved*, That the Senate hereby tender its deep sympathy to the members of the family of the former President in their sad bereavement.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the former President.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint and concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.J. Res. 163. Joint resolution designating the week commencing January 28, 1973, as "International Clergy Week in the United States", and for other purposes; and

H. Con. Res. 90. Concurrent resolution authorizing the remains of former President Lyndon B. Johnson to lie in state in the rotunda of the Capitol.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 421. An act to provide that appointments to the Office of Director of the Cost of Living Council shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate.

## NATIONAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION WEEK

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 136) to provide for the designation of the week of February 11 to 17, 1973, as "National Vocational Education Week," and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

H.J. RES. 136

Whereas the well-being of the citizens of the United States depends to a great extent on education and training that prepares people for entry and advancement in the work force; and

Whereas the educational system of the Nation is the only such institution in our society available to all people; and

Whereas since 1917 the Federal Government has recognized the importance of vocational education and has enacted authorizing legislation, appropriated Federal funds, and provided technical assistance to the States to assist in the development of vocational education programs; and

Whereas profound sociological, economic, and technological changes in our society are bringing about rapid changes in the structure and nature of the work force and are placing new and additional responsibilities on the educational system; and

Whereas graduates of vocational education programs enter the work force much easier and progress much faster than those who enter employment without the benefit of vocational education; and

Whereas the outstanding efforts of professional educators, legislators, citizen advisory groups, taxpayers, and many other individuals are contributing substantially to the development of a competent and efficient labor supply for the future through the process and product of vocational education: Now therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of Amer-*

*ica in Congress assembled*, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation: (1) declaring the week of February 11 to 17, 1973, to be "National Vocational Education Week"; (2) inviting the Governors of the States and the heads of local governments to issue similar proclamations; and (3) calling on the people of the United States to become better acquainted with the services available through vocational education.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## ADJOURNMENT TO FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 1973

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Friday, January 26.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

## FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR FORMER PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

(Mr. McFALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to make a brief announcement with respect to the funeral arrangements for former President Johnson.

Members who plan to attend the services in Washington, at 10 a.m. Thursday, at the National City Christian Church should contact the Sergeant at Arms with respect to tickets and transportation. Only a limited number of tickets are available for the House delegation. Bus transportation to these services will depart from New Jersey Avenue, between the Longworth and Cannon Office Buildings, at 9:10 tomorrow morning and will return to the Capitol after the services.

Members appointed to attend the services in Texas should also contact the Sergeant at Arms with respect to transportation. I understand that the scheduling of transportation to Texas is such that it will not be possible for Members going on that flight to attend the services at the National City Christian Church.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman from California yield?

Mr. McFALL. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, it was my understanding that some arrangements were made with the Speaker and with the majority leader and myself for a briefing by Dr. Kissinger on Friday. Does the gentleman from California wish to make an announcement to that effect?

Mr. McFALL. I would state to the gentleman from Michigan that there will be an announcement to that effect, but

I would like to discuss that matter with the gentleman from Michigan, especially concerning the place of that meeting. Following that, I will make an announcement in just a few moments on that subject.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I thank the gentleman.

#### APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATION TO ATTEND FUNERAL SERVICES FOR FORMER PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

The SPEAKER. The Speaker appoints himself and the entire membership of the House to attend the funeral services for former President Lyndon Baines Johnson which are to be held this afternoon, at 2:30 p.m., in the rotunda of the Capitol.

The Chair suggests that all Members attending these services should take their places in that portion of the rotunda set aside for the House delegation not later than 2:15 p.m.

The Chair appoints the entire membership of the House to attend the funeral services for former President Lyndon Baines Johnson which are to be held in the National City Christian Church, Washington, D.C., on Thursday morning, at 10 a.m.

#### APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO ATTEND FUNERAL SERVICES FOR FORMER PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON IN TEXAS

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the following Members of the House to attend the funeral services for former President Lyndon Baines Johnson which are to be held in Texas on Thursday afternoon: The Speaker, Mr. McFALL, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. ARENDT, Mr. PATMAN, Mr. MAHON, Mr. POAGE, Mr. FISHER, Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, Mr. BURLESON of Texas, Mr. BROOKS, Mr. WRIGHT, Mr. YOUNG of Texas, Mr. CASEY of Texas, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. PICKLE, Mr. E DE LA GARZA, Mr. WHITE, Mr. ECKHARDT, Mr. KAZEN, Mr. PRICE of Texas, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. ARCHER, Miss JORDAN, Mr. MILFORD, Mr. STEELMAN, Mr. CHARLES WILSON of Texas, Mr. ROONEY of New York, Mr. HAYS, Mr. STEED, Mr. DORN, Mr. FOUNTAIN, Mr. LANDRUM, Mr. SISK, Mr. BRADEN, Mr. RANDALL, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. HANLEY, Mr. STOKES, and Mr. JONES of Oklahoma.

(Mr. McFALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, with reference to the meeting to be held on Friday that the minority leader discussed, that will be held on Friday at 3 o'clock in the Ways and Means Committee room and will be a briefing. I would be glad to yield to the minority leader concerning this.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I appreciate the gentleman from California's yielding. As I understand the arrangements that

were discussed last night with the Speaker and with the majority leader and myself, with the White House, Dr. Kissinger and General Haig will be available beginning at 3 o'clock or shortly thereafter to brief the Members of the House on both sides of the aisle on the negotiations and the agreement that has now been initiated and will be signed on Saturday of this week.

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the minority leader the only problem is the matter of the meeting place, and that will be in the Ways and Means Committee room, rather than in the Chamber of the House.

#### COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I offer a unanimous consent resolution (H. Res. 158), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

##### H. Res. 158

*Resolved*, That during the Ninety-third Congress the Committee on Agriculture shall be composed of thirty-six members;

The Committee on Appropriations shall be composed of fifty-five members;

The Committee on Armed Services shall be composed of forty-three members;

The Committee on Banking and Currency shall be composed of thirty-nine members;

The Committee on Education and Labor shall be composed of thirty-eight members;

The Committee on Foreign Affairs shall be composed of forty members;

The Committee on Government Operations shall be composed of forty-one members;

The Committee on House Administration shall be composed of twenty-six members;

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs shall be composed of forty-one members;

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce shall be composed of forty-three members;

The Committee on the Judiciary shall be composed of thirty-eight members;

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries shall be composed of thirty-nine members;

The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service shall be composed of twenty-six members;

The Committee on Public Works shall be composed of thirty-nine members;

The Committee on Science and Astronautics shall be composed of thirty members;

and

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs shall be composed of twenty-six members.

Mr. McFALL (during the reading). I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO STANDING COMMITTEES

Mr. MILLS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res.

159), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

##### H. Res. 159

*Resolved*, That the following-named Members, Delegates, and Resident Commissioner be, and they are hereby, elected to the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

Committee on Agriculture: W. R. Poage (chairman), Texas; Frank A. Stubblefield, Kentucky; Thomas S. Foley, Washington; E (Kika) de la Garza, Texas; Joseph P. Vitorito, Pennsylvania; Walter B. Jones, North Carolina; B. F. Sisk, California; Bill Alexander, Arkansas; John R. Rarick, Louisiana; Ed Jones, Tennessee; John Melcher, Montana; Dawson Mathis, Georgia; Bob Bergland, Minnesota; Frank E. Denholm, South Dakota; Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii; George E. Brown, Jr., California; David R. Bowen, Mississippi; Charles Rose, North Carolina; Jerry Litton, Missouri; Bill Gunter, Florida.

Committee on Appropriations: George H. Mahon (chairman), Texas; Jamie L. Whitten, Mississippi; John J. Rooney, New York; Robert L. F. Sikes, Florida; Otto E. Passman, Louisiana; Joe L. Evins, Tennessee; Edward P. Boland, Massachusetts; William H. Natcher, Kentucky; Daniel J. Flood, Pennsylvania; Tom Steed, Oklahoma; George E. Shipley, Illinois; John M. Slack, West Virginia; John J. Flynt, Jr., Georgia; Neal Smith, Iowa; Robert N. Gialmo, Connecticut; Julia Butler Hansen, Washington; Joseph P. Addabbo, New York; John J. McFall, California; Edward J. Patten, New Jersey; Clarence D. Long, Maryland; Sidney R. Yates, Illinois; Bob Casey, Texas; Frank E. Evans, Colorado; David R. Obey, Wisconsin; Edward R. Roybal, California; Louis Stokes, Ohio; J. Edward Roush, Indiana; K. Gunn McKay, Utah; Tom Bevill, Alabama; Edith Green, Oregon; Robert O. Tiernan, Rhode Island; Bill Chappell, Jr., Florida; Bill D. Burlison, Missouri.

Committee on Armed Services: F. Edward Hébert (chairman), Louisiana; Melvin Price, Illinois; O. C. Fisher, Texas; Charles E. Bennett, Florida; Samuel S. Stratton, New York; Otis G. Pike, New York; Richard H. Ichord, Missouri; Lucien N. Nedzi, Michigan; Wm. J. Randall, Missouri; Charles H. Wilson, California; Robert L. Leggett, California; Floyd V. Hicks, Washington; Richard C. White, Texas; Bill Nichols, Alabama; Jack Brinkley, Georgia; Robert H. Mollohan, West Virginia; Dan Daniel, Virginia; G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery, Mississippi; Harold Runnels, New Mexico; Les Aspin, Wisconsin; Ronald V. Dellums, California; Mendel J. Davis, South Carolina; James R. Jones, Oklahoma; Patricia Schroeder, Colorado.

Committee on Banking and Currency: Wright Patman (chairman), Texas; William A. Barrett, Pennsylvania; Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan, Missouri; Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin; Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio; William S. Moorhead, Pennsylvania; Robert G. Stephens, Jr., Georgia; Fernand J. St Germain, Rhode Island; Henry B. Gonzalez, Texas; Joseph G. Minish, New Jersey; Richard T. Hanna, California; Tom S. Gettys, South Carolina; Frank Annunzio, Illinois; Thomas M. Rees, California; James M. Hanley, New York; Frank J. Brasco, New York; Edward I. Koch, New York; William R. Cotter, Connecticut; Parren J. Mitchell, Maryland; Walter E. Fauntroy, District of Columbia; Andrew Young, Georgia; John Joseph Moakley, Massachusetts; Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, Jr., California.

Committee on the District of Columbia: Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (chairman), Michigan; Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota; W. S. (Bill) Stuckey, Jr., Georgia; Donald V. Dellums, California; Thomas M. Rees, California; Brock Adams, Washington; Walter E. Fauntroy, District of Columbia; James J. Howard,



New Jersey; James R. Mann, South Carolina; Romano L. Mazzoli, Kentucky; Les Aspin, Wisconsin; Charles B. Rangel, New York; John Breckinridge, Kentucky; Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, Jr., California.

Committee on Education and Labor: Carl D. Perkins (chairman), Kentucky; Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jersey; John H. Dent, Pennsylvania; Dominick V. Daniels, New Jersey; John Brademas, Indiana; James G. O'Hara, Michigan; Augustus F. Hawkins, California; William D. Ford, Michigan; Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii; Lloyd Meeds, Washington; Phillip Burton, California; Joseph M. Gaydos, Pennsylvania; William (Bill) Clay, Missouri; Shirley Chisholm, New York; Mario Biaggi, New York; Ella T. Grasso, Connecticut; Romano L. Mazzoli, Kentucky; Herman Badillo, New York; Ike F. Andrews, North Carolina; William Lehman, Florida; Jaime Benitez, Puerto Rico.

Committee on Foreign Affairs: Thomas E. Morgan (chairman), Pennsylvania; Clement J. Zablocki, Wisconsin; Wayne L. Hays, Ohio; L. H. Fountain, North Carolina; Dante B. Fascell, Florida; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan; Robert N. C. Nix, Pennsylvania; Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota; Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York; John C. Culver, Iowa; Lee H. Hamilton, Indiana; Abraham Kazen, Jr., Texas; Lester L. Wolff, New York; Jonathan B. Bingham, New York; Gus Yatron, Pennsylvania; Roy A. Taylor, North Carolina; John W. Davis, Georgia; Ogden R. Reid, New York; Michael Harrington, Massachusetts; Leo J. Ryan, California; Charles Wilson, Texas.

Committee on Government Operations: Chet Holifield (chairman), California; Jack Brooks, Texas; L. H. Fountain, North Carolina; Robert E. Jones, Alabama; John E. Moss, California; Dante B. Fascell, Florida; Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin; Torbert H. Macdonald, Massachusetts; William S. Moorhead, Pennsylvania; Wm. J. Randall, Missouri; Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York; Jim Wright, Texas; Ferdinand J. St Germain, Rhode Island; John C. Culver, Iowa; Floyd V. Hicks, Washington; Don Fuqua, Florida; John Conyers, Jr., Michigan; Bill Alexander, Arkansas; Bella S. Abzug, New York; Harold D. Donohue, Massachusetts; James V. Stanton, Ohio; Leo J. Ryan, California.

Committee on House Administration: Wayne L. Hays (chairman), Ohio; Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jersey; John H. Dent, Pennsylvania; Lucien N. Nedzi, Michigan; John Brademas, Indiana; Kenneth J. Gray, Illinois; Augustus F. Hawkins, California; Tom S. Gettys, South Carolina; Bertram L. Podell, New York; Frank Annunzio, Illinois; Joseph M. Gaydos, Pennsylvania; Ed Jones, Tennessee; Robert H. Mollohan, West Virginia; Edward I. Koch, New York; Dawson Mathis, Georgia.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: James A. Haley (chairman), Florida; Roy A. Taylor, North Carolina; Harold T. Johnson, California; Morris K. Udall, Arizona; Phillip Burton, California; Thomas S. Foley, Washington; Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisconsin; James G. O'Hara, Michigan; Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii; Lloyd Meeds, Washington; Abraham Kazen, Jr., Texas; Robert G. Stephens, Jr., Georgia; Joseph P. Vigorito, Pennsylvania; John Melcher, Montana; Teno Roncallo, Wyoming; Jonathan B. Bingham, New York; John P. Seiberling, Ohio; Harold Runnels, New Mexico; Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, California; Antonio Borja Won Pat, Guam; Wayne Owens, Utah; Ron de Lugo, Virgin Islands; James R. Jones, Oklahoma.

Committee on Internal Security: Richard H. Ichord (chairman), Missouri; Claude Pepper, Florida; Richardson Preyer, North Carolina; Robert F. Drinan, Massachusetts; Mendel J. Davis, South Carolina.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Harley O. Staggers (chairman), West Virginia; Torbet H. Macdonald, Massachusetts; John Jarman, Oklahoma; John

E. Moss, California; John D. Dingell, Michigan; Paul G. Rogers, Florida; Lionel Van Deerlin, California; J. J. Pickle, Texas; Fred B. Rooney, Pennsylvania; John M. Murphy, New York; David E. Satterfield III, Virginia; Brock Adams, Washington; W. S. (Bill) Stuckey, Jr., Georgia; Peter N. Kyros, Maine; Bob Eckhardt, Texas; Richardson Preyer, North Carolina; Bertram L. Podell, New York; Henry Helstoski, New Jersey; James W. Symington, Missouri; Charles J. Carney, Ohio; Ralph H. Metcalfe, Illinois; Goodloe E. Byron, Maryland; William R. Roy, Kansas; John Breckinridge, Kentucky.

Committee on the Judiciary: Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (chairman), New Jersey; Harold D. Donohue, Massachusetts; Jack Brooks, Texas; Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisconsin; Don Edwards, California; William L. Hungate, Missouri; John Conyers, Jr., Michigan; Joshua Ellberg, Pennsylvania; Jerome R. Waldie, California; Walter Flowers, Alabama; James R. Mann, South Carolina; Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland; John F. Seiberling, Ohio; George E. Danielson, California; Robert F. Drinan, Massachusetts; Charles B. Rangel, New York; Barbara Jordan, Texas; Ray Thornton, Arkansas; Elizabeth Holtzman, New York; Wayne Owens, Utah; Edward Mezvinsky, Iowa.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan (chairman), Missouri; Frank M. Clark, Pennsylvania; Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio; John D. Dingell, Michigan; Thomas N. Downing, Virginia; Paul G. Rogers, Florida; Frank A. Stubblefield, Kentucky; John M. Murphy, New York; Walter B. Jones, North Carolina; Robert L. Leggett, California; Mario Biaggi, New York; Glenn M. Anderson, California; E (Kika) de la Garza, Texas; Peter N. Kyros, Maine; Ralph H. Metcalfe, Illinois; John B. Breaux, Louisiana; Fred B. Rooney, Pennsylvania; Bob Eckhardt, Texas; Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland; Bo Ginn, Georgia; Gerry E. Studds, Massachusetts; David R. Bowen, Mississippi.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service: Thaddeus J. Dulski (chairman), New York; David N. Henderson, North Carolina; Morris K. Udall, Arizona; Dominick V. Daniels, New Jersey; Robert N. C. Nix, Pennsylvania; James M. Hanley, New York; Charles H. Wilson, California; Jerome R. Waldie, California; Richard C. White, Texas; William D. Ford, Michigan; Frank J. Brasco, New York; William (Bill) Clay, Missouri; Patricia Schroeder, Colorado; John Joseph Moakley, Massachusetts; William Lehman, Florida.

Committee on Public Works: John A. Biatnik (chairman), Minnesota; Robert E. Jones, Alabama; John C. Kluczynski, Illinois; Jim Wright, Texas; Kenneth J. Gray, Illinois; Frank M. Clark, Pennsylvania; Harold T. Johnson, California; Wm. Jennings Bryan Dorn, South Carolina; David N. Henderson, North Carolina; Ray Roberts, Texas; James J. Howard, New Jersey; Glenn M. Anderson, California; Robert A. Roe, New Jersey; Teno Roncallo, Wyoming; Mike McCormack, Washington; James V. Stanton, Ohio; Bella S. Abzug, New York; John B. Breaux, Louisiana; Gerry E. Studds, Massachusetts; Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, California; Bo Ginn, Georgia; Dale Milford, Texas.

Committee on Rules: Ray J. Madden (chairman), Indiana; James J. Delaney, New York; Richard Bolling, Missouri; B. F. Sisk, California; John Young, Texas; Claude Pepper, Florida; Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii; Morgan F. Murphy, Illinois; Gillis W. Long, Louisiana; Clem Rogers McSpadden, Oklahoma.

Committee on Science and Astronautics: Olin E. Teague (chairman), Texas; Ken

McCormack, Washington; Bob Bergland, Minnesota; J. J. Pickle, Texas; George E. Brown, Jr., California; Dale Milford, Texas; Ray Thornton, Arkansas; Bill Gunter, Florida.

Committee on Standards of Official Conduct: Melvin Price (chairman), Illinois; Olin E. Teague, Texas; F. Edward Hébert, Louisiana; Chet Holifield, California; John J. Flynt, Jr., Georgia; Thomas S. Foley, Washington.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs: Wm. Jennings Bryan Dorn (chairman), South Carolina; Olin E. Teague, Texas; James A. Haley, Florida; Thaddeus J. Dulski, New York; Ray Roberts, Texas; David E. Satterfield III, Virginia; Henry Helstoski, New Jersey; Don Edwards, California; G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery, Mississippi; Charles J. Carney, Ohio; George E. Danielson, California; Ella T. Grasso, Connecticut; Lester L. Wolff, New York; Jack Brinkley, Georgia; Charles Wilson, Texas.

Committee on Ways and Means: Wilbur D. Mills (chairman), Arkansas; Al Ullman, Oregon; James A. Burke, Massachusetts; Martha W. Griffiths, Michigan; Dan Rostenkowski, Illinois; Phil M. Landrum, Georgia; Charles A. Vanik, Ohio; Richard H. Fulton, Tennessee; Omar Burleson, Texas; James C.orman, California; William J. Green, Pennsylvania; Sam M. Gibbons, Florida; Hugh L. Carey, New York; Joe D. Waggoner, Jr., Louisiana; Joseph E. Karth, Minnesota.

Mr. MILLS of Arkansas (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO STANDING COMMITTEES

Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 160) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

#### H. RES. 160

*Resolved*, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

Committee on Agriculture: Charles M. Teague, California; William C. Wampler, Virginia; George A. Goodling, Pennsylvania; Robert B. (Bob) Mathias, California; Wiley Mayne, Iowa; John M. Zwach, Minnesota; Robert Price, Texas; Keith G. Sebelius, Kansas; Wilmer (Vinegar Bend) Mizell, North Carolina; Paul Findley, Illinois; LaMar Baker, Tennessee; Charles Thone, Nebraska; Steven D. Symms, Idaho; Edward Young, South Carolina; James P. Johnson, Colorado; Edward R. Madigan, Illinois.

Committee on Appropriations: Clarence E. Miller, Ohio; Earl B. Ruth, North Carolina; Victor V. Veysey, California.

Committee on Armed Services: William G. Bray, Indiana; Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; Bob Wilson, California; Charles S. Gubser, California; Carleton J. King, New York; William L. Dickinson, Alabama; John E. Hunt, New Jersey; G. William Whitehurst, Virginia; C. W. Bill Young, Florida; Floyd D. Spence, South Carolina; Walter E. Powell, Ohio; Robert Price, Texas; David C. Treen, Louisiana; William L. Armstrong, Colorado; George M. O'Brien, Illinois; Robin L. Beard, Tennessee; Donald J. Mitchell, New York; Marjorie S.

Holt, Maryland; Robert W. Daniel, Jr., Virginia.

Committee on Banking and Currency: William B. Widnall, New Jersey; Albert W. Johnson, Pennsylvania; J. William Stanton, Ohio; Ben B. Blackburn, Georgia; Gary Brown, Michigan; Lawrence G. Williams, Pennsylvania; Chalmers P. Wylie, Ohio; Margaret M. Heckler, Massachusetts; Philip M. Crane, Illinois; John M. Rousselot, California; Stewart B. McKinney, Connecticut; Bill Frenzel, Minnesota; Angelo D. Roncallo, New York; John B. Conlan, Arizona; Clair W. Burgener, California; Matthew J. Rinaldo, New Jersey.

Committee on District of Columbia: Ancher Nelsen, Minnesota; William H. Harsha, Ohio; Joel T. Broyhill, Virginia; Gilbert Gude, Maryland; Vernon W. Thomson, Wisconsin; Henry P. Smith, III, New York; Earl F. Landgrebe, Indiana; Stewart B. McKinney, Connecticut; Steven D. Symms, Idaho; William M. Ketchum, California; Gene Taylor, Missouri.

Committee on Education and Labor: Albert H. Quie, Minnesota; John M. Ashbrook, Ohio; Alphonzo Bell, California; John N. Erlenborn, Illinois; John Dellenback, Oregon; Marvin L. Esch, Michigan; Edwin D. Eshleman, Pennsylvania; William A. Steiger, Wisconsin; Earl F. Landgrebe, Indiana; Orval Hansen, Idaho; Edwin B. Forsythe, New Jersey; Jack P. Kemp, New York; Peter A. Peyser, New York; David Towell, Nevada; Ronald A. Sarasin, Connecticut; Robert J. Huber, Michigan.

Committee on Foreign Affairs: William S. Mailliard, California; Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey; William S. Broomfield, Michigan; H. R. Gross, Iowa; Edward J. Derwinski, Illinois; Vernon W. Thomson, Wisconsin; Paul Findley, Illinois; John Buchanan, Alabama; J. Herbert Burke, Florida; Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan; Robert H. Steele, Connecticut; Pierre S. (Pete) du Pont, Delaware; Charles W. Whalen, Jr., Ohio; Robert B. (Bob) Mathias, California; Edward G. Biester, Jr., Pennsylvania; Larry Winn, Jr., Kansas; Benjamin A. Gilman, New York; Tennyson Guyer, Ohio.

Committee on Government Operations: Frank Horton, New York; John N. Erlenborn, Illinois; John W. Wylder, New York; Clarence J. Brown, Ohio; Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan; Gilbert Gude, Maryland; Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., California; John Buchanan, Alabama; Sam Steiger, Arizona; Gary Brown, Michigan; Charles Thone, Nebraska; Richard W. Mallary, Vermont; Stanford E. Parris, Virginia; Ralph S. Regula, Ohio; Andrew J. Hinshaw, California; Alan Steelman, Texas; Joel M. Pritchard, Washington; Robert P. Hanrahan, Illinois.

Committee on House Administration: William L. Dickinson, Alabama; Samuel L. Devine, Ohio; James C. Cleveland, New Hampshire; James Harvey, Michigan; Orval Hansen, Idaho; Philip M. Crane, Illinois; John Ware, Pennsylvania; Bill Frenzel, Minnesota; Charles E. Wiggins, California; James F. Hastings, New York; Harold V. Froehlich, Wisconsin.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: John P. Saylor, Pennsylvania; Craig Hosmer, California; Joe Skubitz, Kansas; Sam Steiger, Arizona; Don H. Clausen, California; Philip E. Ruppe, Michigan; John N. Happy Camp, Oklahoma; Manuel Lujan, Jr., New Mexico; John Dellenback, Oregon; Keith G. Sebelius, Kansas; Ralph S. Regula, Ohio; Alan Steelman, Texas; Joseph J. Maraziti, New Jersey; David Towell, Nevada; James G. Martin, North Carolina; William M. Ketchum, California; Paul W. Cronin, Massachusetts.

Committee on Internal Security: John M. Ashbrook, Ohio; Roger H. Zion, Indiana; J. Herbert Burke, Florida; Tennyson Guyer, Ohio.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Samuel L. Devine, Ohio; Ancher Nelsen, Minnesota; James T. Broyhill, North Carolina; James Harvey, Michigan; Tim Lee

Carter, Kentucky; Clarence J. Brown, Ohio; Dan Kuykendall, Tennessee; Joe Skubitz, Kansas; James F. Hastings, New York; James M. Collins, Texas; Louis Frey, Jr., Florida; John Ware, Pennsylvania; John Y. McCollister, Nebraska; Richard G. Shoup, Montana; Barry M. Goldwater, Jr., California; Norman F. Lent, New York; H. John Heinz, III, Pennsylvania; William H. Hudnut, III, Indiana; Samuel H. Young, Illinois.

Committee on Judiciary: Edward Hutchinson, Michigan; Robert McClory, Illinois; Henry P. Smith, III, New York; Charles W. Sandman, Jr., New Jersey; Tom Railsback, Illinois; Charles E. Wiggins, California; David W. Dennis, Indiana; Hamilton Fish, Jr., New York; Lawrence Coughlin, Pennsylvania; Wiley Mayne, Iowa; Lawrence J. Hogan, Maryland; William J. Keating, Ohio; M. Caldwell Butler, Virginia; William S. Cohen, Maine; Trent Lott, Mississippi; Harold V. Froehlich, Wisconsin; Carlos J. Moorhead, California.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: James R. Grover, Jr., New York; William S. Mailliard, California; Charles A. Mosher, Ohio; Philip E. Ruppe, Michigan; George A. Goodling, Pennsylvania; William G. Bray, Indiana; Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., California; Gene Snyder, Kentucky; Robert H. Steele, Connecticut; Edwin B. Forsythe, New Jersey; Pierre S. du Pont, Delaware; William O. Mills, Maryland; William S. Cohen, Maine; Trent Lott, Mississippi; David C. Treen, Louisiana; Joel M. Pritchard, Washington.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service: H. R. Gross, Iowa; Edward J. Derwinski, Illinois; Albert W. Johnson, Pennsylvania; Lawrence J. Hogan, Maryland; John H. Rousselot, California; Elwood Hillis, Indiana; Walter E. Powell, Ohio; William O. Mills, Maryland; Richard W. Mallary, Vermont; Andrew J. Hinshaw, California; L. A. (Skip) Bafalis, Florida.

Committee on Public Works: William Harsha, Ohio; James R. Grover, Jr., New York; James C. Cleveland, New Hampshire; Don H. Clausen, California; Gene Snyder, Kentucky; Roger H. Zion, Indiana; John Paul Hammerschmidt, Arkansas; Wilmer (Vinegar Bend) Mizell, North Carolina; LaMar Baker, Tennessee; E. G. Shuster, Pennsylvania; William F. Walsh, New York; Thad Cochran, Mississippi; L. A. (Skip) Bafalis, Florida; James D. Abdnor, South Dakota; Robert P. Hanrahan, Illinois; Gene Taylor, Missouri.

Committee on Rules: Del Clawson, California.

Committee on Science and Astronautics: Charles A. Mosher, Ohio; Alphonzo Bell, California; John W. Wylder, New York; Larry Winn, Jr., Kansas; Louis Frey, Jr., Florida; Barry M. Goldwater, Jr., California; Marvin L. Esch, Michigan; Lawrence Coughlin, Pennsylvania; John N. Happy Camp, Oklahoma; John B. Conlan, Arizona; Stanford E. Parris, Virginia; Paul W. Cronin, Massachusetts; James G. Martin, North Carolina.

Committee on Standards of Official Conduct: James H. (Jimmy) Quillen, Tennessee; Lawrence G. Williams, Pennsylvania; Edward Hutchinson, Michigan; Carleton J. King, New York; Floyd D. Spence, South Carolina; John E. Hunt, New Jersey.

Committee on Veterans' Affairs: John Paul Hammerschmidt, Arkansas; John P. Saylor, Pennsylvania; Charles M. Teague, California; Margaret M. Heckler, Massachusetts; John M. Zwach, Minnesota; Chalmers P. Wylie, Ohio; Elwood Hillis, Indiana; Joseph J. Maraziti, New Jersey; James Abdnor, South Dakota; Robert J. Huber, Michigan; William F. Walsh, New York.

Committee on Ways and Means: Herman T. Schneebeli, Pennsylvania; Harold R. Collier, Illinois; Joel T. Broyhill, Virginia; Barber B. Conable, Jr., New York; Charles E. Chamberlain, Michigan; Jerry L. Pettis, California; John J. Duncan, Tennessee; Donald G. Brotzman, Colorado; Donald D. Clancy, Ohio; Bill Archer, Texas.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS ON GENERAL TAX REFORM PRECEDED BY 1-DAY HEARING ON INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX ACT

(Mr. MILLS of Arkansas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MILLS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, today an announcement is being made by the Committee on Ways and Means of a hearing on Tuesday, January 30, on the administration's request to extend the Interest Equalization Tax Act, and following that, on Monday, February 5, commencement of our discussion of general tax reform beginning with invited panels on Monday, February 5, through Friday, February 9, resuming again Monday, February 19, through Friday, February 23, and with the public witnesses to commence their statements on Monday, February 26.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the entire announcement may be included in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

CHAIRMAN WILBUR D. MILLS, DEMOCRAT, OF ARKANSAS, COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ANNOUNCES EXTENSIVE PANEL DISCUSSIONS AND PUBLIC HEARINGS ON TAX REFORM, TO BE PRECEDED BY A 1-DAY PUBLIC HEARING ON ADMINISTRATION PROPOSAL TO EXTEND INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX ACT

Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D., Ark.), Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, today announced the plans of the Committee to conduct extensive panel discussions and public hearings on the subject of tax reform. This will be preceded by a one-day public hearing on extension of the Interest Equalization Tax Act.

It will be recalled that Chairman Mills has stated on numerous occasions, both on the Floor of the House of Representatives, and in speeches and press conferences, that general tax reform would be the first order of major business for the Committee on Ways and Means in the 93d Congress. All interested individuals and organizations therefore should be prepared to testify on the day on which they may be scheduled. Chairman Mills indicated that these tax reform hearings will cover all areas of the Internal Revenue Code.

The chronological order and dates of these hearings will be as follows:

First, the Committee will conduct a one-day public hearing on Tuesday, January 30, 1973, on the Administration request to extend the Interest Equalization Tax Act for two years through March 31, 1975. The cut-off date for requests to be heard on this is Friday, January 26, 1973, as more fully set forth later in this release.

Upon completion of the Committee consideration of the extension of the Interest



Equalization Tax Act, on Monday, February 5, 1973, the Committee will begin general tax reform panel discussions consisting of invited tax specialists involving many broad areas of the Internal Revenue Code. These panel discussions will run from Monday, February 5 through Friday, February 9, and then continue from Monday, February 19 through Friday, February 23.

Finally, presentation of testimony from the interested public on the subject of broad tax reform will begin on Monday, February 26, and continue until completed. The cutoff date for requests to be heard on tax reform is Friday, February 16, 1973, as more fully specified later in this release.

Set forth below are the necessary details with regard to the interest Equalization tax hearing as well as the general tax reform panel discussions and hearings.

#### INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX ACT HEARING

This public hearing will be a one-day hearing only, to be conducted on Tuesday, January 30, 1973, starting at 10:00 a.m. in the Main Committee Hearing Room in the Longworth House Office Building.

The first witness at this public hearing will be the Honorable Paul A. Volcker, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, to be followed by receipt of testimony from public witnesses.

All interested persons and organizations must designate one spokesman to represent them where they have the same general interest. Any interested person or organization desiring to do so may file a written statement for inclusion in the printed record of the hearing in lieu of a personal appearance.

The cutoff date for requests to be heard is no later than the close of business Friday, January 26, 1973. The requests should be directed to John M. Martin, Jr., Chief Counsel, Committee on Ways and Means, Room 1102 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, telephone number (202) 225-3625. Because of the shortness of time in which to make requests to be heard, it will be necessary to advise the Committee by telephone (preferably), or telegram, as to interest in appearing before the Committee, using the telephone number or address indicated immediately above, so that arrangements can be made at that time for the appearance.

If it is feasible, it is requested that the witness supply the Committee on Tuesday, January 30 at 9:00 a.m. with seventy-five (75) copies of any written statement he may have prepared for his presentation. Persons submitting a written statement in lieu of a personal appearance should submit at least three copies for that purpose by the close of business Tuesday.

This one-day hearing will be followed by an executive session on this subject on Wednesday, January 31.

#### TAX REFORM PANEL DISCUSSIONS AND PUBLIC HEARINGS

##### I. Panel discussions

Beginning on Monday, February 5, the Committee on Ways and Means will begin two weeks of Panel discussions on selected areas of tax reform. The participants in these panel discussions will include only those witnesses who have been specially invited by the Committee, but the hearing room will be open for anyone who may wish to attend the hearing. These witnesses have already been contacted individually and the panels constituted. These panel discussions will take place beginning on Monday, February 5, run through Friday, February 9, and then continue on Monday, February 19, and conclude on Friday, February 23. A day-by-day schedule of these panel discussions follows:

Monday, February 5—Objectives and Approaches to Tax Reform and Simplification.  
Tuesday, February 6—Capital Gains and Losses.

Wednesday, February 7—Tax Treatment of Capital Recovery (Investment Credit, Accelerated Depreciation and Amortization).

Thursday, February 8—Tax Treatment of Real Estate.

Friday, February 9—Natural Resources.

Monday, February 19—Estate and Gift Tax Revision.

Tuesday, February 20—Farm Operations; Minimum Tax and Tax Shelter Devices.

Wednesday, February 21—Taxation of Foreign Income.

Thursday, February 22—Pensions, Profit Sharing, and Deferred Compensation.

Friday, February 23—An Alternative to Tax-Exempt State and Local Bonds.

A list of the panelists will be released at a later date.

##### II. Tax reform public hearings

The second phase of the public hearing on tax reform will begin immediately upon the conclusion of the panel discussions—on Monday, February 26. While the panel discussions will involve only the above enumerated specific areas of tax reform, the second phase of the hearing will not be confined to those areas, but will encompass all areas of the Internal Revenue Code, particularly concentrating on the following major subjects:

Major Topics Included in Tax Hearings for General Public Witnesses

(NOTE: These subjects are not necessarily listed in the order in which they will be heard by the Committee.)

I. *Estate and Gift Tax Revision.*—This category would include but is not limited to proposals for taxing gains at death, a carry-over basis of property transferred at death and other alternative treatment for transfers at death, unification of estate and gift taxes, transfers involving generation skipping, changes in the unlimited contribution deduction, increasing the size of the marital deduction, changing estate and gift tax rates and exemptions, problems of liquidity of paying estate and gift taxes, and the estate and gift tax treatment of life insurance.

II. *Treatment of Capital Recovery for Tax Purposes.*—This includes but is not limited to proposals with respect to the investment tax credit, additional first year depreciation allowance, accelerated depreciation (including the 20-percent variance allowed under ADR) and the amortization provisions having expiration dates (rehabilitation—low-income rental, pollution control, railroad rolling stock, coal mine safety equipment and on-the-job training and child care facilities), and amortization of railroad grading and tunnel bores.

III. *Taxation of Capital Gains and Losses.*—This category would include but is not limited to a discussion of the holding period for capital gains, the alternative tax for individuals, the level of exclusion (and possibility of varying it with the period the asset is held), the capital gains tax rate for corporations, capital loss carrybacks and carryovers, and the tax treatment of timber, cattle, coal and iron ore royalties and patents. (For tax treatment of lump sum pension treatment, see category below on pension and profit sharing plans.)

IV. *Tax Treatment of Real Estate.*—This category would include but is not limited to depreciation method and life (including any distinction for this purpose between borrowings and equity), recapture rules for excess depreciation and the treatment of interest and taxes during the period of construction.

V. *Natural Resources.*—This category includes but is not limited to the rate of percentage depletion, intangible drilling expense and the deduction for development and other exploration costs.

VI. *Farm Operations.*—This includes but is not limited to the treatment of development costs in the case of fruits and other food

products with long development periods, the deduction of farm losses, and so-called hobby loss operations.

##### VII. Personal Property Leasing.

VIII. *Treatment of Interest Deductions.*—This includes but is not limited to consideration of the present provision providing a limitation on the extent to which investment interest can be taken as a deduction, the interest deduction for home mortgages, etc.

IX. *Tax Treatment of Limited Partnerships.*—This includes, for example, considerations involving the basis for nonrecourse loans.

X. *Minimum Tax.*—This includes but is not limited to a consideration of the exemption level, the rate of tax, the allowance of a deduction for the regular or individual corporate income tax, and the possibility of adding other preference items to the base of the tax.

XI. *Tax Treatment of Employee Stock Options.*

XII. *An Election To Issue Taxable Bonds with a Federal Subsidy as an Alternative to Tax-Exempt State and Local Bonds.*

XIII. *Taxation of Foreign Income.*—This includes but is not limited to consideration of the foreign tax credit (including consideration of the per-country and overall limitations), the deferral of income of controlled foreign subsidiaries, the tax treatment of Western Hemisphere Trade Corporations, whether the present exclusion of "gross-up" on dividends of less developed country corporations should be continued, tax exemptions of ships under foreign flags, DISC corporations, the exclusion of income earned in U.S. possessions and the exemption for income earned abroad by U.S. citizens.

XIV. *Pension and Profit Sharing Plans and Other Deferred Compensation.*—This includes but is not limited to vesting, eligibility requirements (age and service) and portability, funding and termination insurance, deductions in the case of self-employed, closely held corporations, subchapter S corporations, and professional corporations, tax treatment of lump sum pension and profit sharing payments and deferred compensation plans of exempt organizations and governmental units.

XV. *Tax Treatment of Political Contributions.*—This includes but is not limited to the tax treatment of gifts of appreciated property and earnings on funds held by political organizations.

XVI. *Corporate Tax Provisions Not Included Specifically Elsewhere.*

XVII. *Special Industry Tax Problems.*—This includes but is not limited to the bank holding company tax provisions, the tax treatment of cooperatives, the tax treatment of financial institutions (including mutual savings and savings and loan associations, and credit unions) and the tax treatment of subchapter S (or small) corporations.

XVIII. *Tax Treatment of Other Items Specially Affecting Individuals.*—This is intended to include but is not limited to converting deductions into credits, possible consideration of deductions outside of the standard deduction (for example, the medical expense deduction, the deduction for non-business casualty losses, etc.), limitations and modifications of existing deductions, withholding on dividends and interest, the dividend exclusion, the exclusion of group term insurance, the exclusion of sick pay, and the tax treatment of losses on nonbusiness guarantees.

XIX. *Tax Treatment of Foundations and Charitable Contributions.*

XX. *Tax Simplification.*—The intent here at this point is to deal with proposals for simplification in the tax law without major substantive changes in the underlying provisions. Areas in which the staffs have already done a considerable amount of work toward tax simplification include the pres-

ent annuity rule, the retirement income credit, the sick pay exclusion, moving expense deduction, section 367 (advance approval for tax-free exchanges involving foreign corporations), child care deduction, accumulation trust (throwback provisions) and the so-called deadwood or tax simplification bill introduced in the last Congress by Chairman Mills. Tax simplification proposals presented in the public testimony, of course, need not be limited to these areas.

(NOTE: The foregoing list of subjects is not necessarily in the order in which they will be considered.)

The second phase of this public hearing is open to all persons and organizations interested in presenting testimony to the Committee on any one, some, or all of the foregoing subjects, or other areas, including, for example, subjects involved in tax bills reported from the Committee in the 92nd Congress but which did not become law.

Witnesses who will be testifying on more than one major subject will be listed in the category of "general witnesses" and will be heard at the beginning of this phase of the hearing. In cases where a witness wishes to concentrate his testimony on one major subject, but comment in a lesser way on other subjects, he will be scheduled under the major subject and can submit his statement for the record on the minor areas.

Administration witnesses will be scheduled at the end of the hearings.

#### *Details for submission of requests to be heard*

**Cutoff Date for Requests to be Heard**—Requests to be heard must be submitted by no later than the close of business Friday, February 16, 1973. As previously indicated, individuals and organizations desiring to testify on most or all of the subjects listed herein will be heard at the beginning of this phase of the hearing, i.e., "general testimony" will be the first category to be heard.

All requests should be submitted to John M. Martin, Jr., Chief Counsel, Committee on Ways and Means, Room 1102 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515 (telephone: (202) 225-3625). Notification will be made as promptly as possible after the cutoff date as to when witnesses have been scheduled to appear. Once the witness has been advised of his date of appearance, it is not possible for this date to be changed. If a witness finds that he cannot appear on that day, he may wish to either substitute another spokesman in his stead or file a written statement for the record of the hearing in lieu of a personal appearance.

**Coordination of Testimony**—In view of the heavy schedule of the Committee ahead and the limited time available to the Committee to conduct this hearing, it is requested and it is most important that all persons and organizations with the same general interest designate one spokesman to represent them so as to conserve the time of the Committee and the other witnesses, prevent repetition and assure that all aspects of the subjects being discussed at this hearing can be given appropriate attention.

The Committee will be pleased to receive from any interested organization or person a written statement for consideration for inclusion in the printed record of the hearing in lieu of a personal appearance. These statements will be given the same full consideration as though the statements had been presented in person. In such cases, a minimum of three copies of the statement should be submitted by a date to be specified later.

**Allocation of Time of Witnesses**—Because of the Committee's heavy legislative schedule, which will limit the total time available to the Committee in which to conduct these hearings, and to assure fairness to all witnesses and all points of view, it will be necessary to allocate time to witnesses for the presentation of their direct oral testimony. If the witness wishes to present a long and detailed statement to the Committee, it will

be necessary for him to confine his oral presentation to a summary of his views while submitting a detailed written statement for the Committee members' consideration and for inclusion in the record of the hearing.

**Contents of Requests to be Heard**—The request to be heard must contain the following information, otherwise delay may result in the proper processing of a request:

(1) the name, address and capacity in which the witness will appear;

(2) the list of persons or organizations the witness represents and in the case of associations and organizations their total membership and where possible a membership list;

(3) the amount of time the witness desires in which to present his direct oral testimony (not including answers to questions of Committee members);

(4) an indication of whether or not the witness is supporting or opposing any specific proposal or proposals on which he desires to testify; and

(5) a topical outline or summary of the comments and recommendations which the witness proposes to make.

**Submission of Prepared Written Statements**—With respect to oral testimony, the rules of the Committee require that prepared statements be submitted to the Committee office no later than 48 hours prior to the scheduled appearance of the witness. Seventy-five (75) copies of the written statements would be required in this instance; an additional seventy-five (75) copies may be submitted for distribution to the press and the interested public on the witness' date of appearance.

Any interested organization or person may submit a written statement in lieu of a personal appearance for consideration for inclusion in the printed record of the hearing. Such statements should be submitted by a date to be specified later, in triplicate. An additional seventy-five (75) copies of written statements for the printed record will be accepted for distribution to the press and the interested public if submitted before the final day of the public hearing.

**Format of All Written Statements**—It is very important that all prepared statements contain a summary of the testimony and recommendations and that throughout the statement itself pertinent subject headings be used.

**Re-submission of Requests to be Heard where Request Already Made**—If a prospective witness has already submitted a request to be heard on any of the subjects covered by this hearing, the request should be re-submitted furnishing the above information and otherwise conforming to the rules set forth for conducting this hearing.

### AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, all of us are overjoyed that a cease-fire will go into effect at 7 p.m. Saturday in Vietnam and that a peace agreement has been achieved.

After learning the provisions of the peace agreement, I personally am convinced that the peace President Nixon has negotiated is one which will last.

We must "win the peace" in Vietnam. As President Nixon told the Nation last night—

Ending the war is only the first step toward building the peace.

Careful perusal of the provisions in the peace agreement hammered out by Henry Kissinger in Paris should give every American reason to believe that the fighting may indeed have ended in Indochina.

The struggle now will be one for political control, and I hope it will not flare into renewed military conflict between North and South Vietnam.

I am sure all Members of the House will be interested in studying the provisions of the Vietnam peace agreement, and so I will insert them in the RECORD at this point. I am also inserting the text of the President's speech to the Nation:

#### TEXT OF A RADIO AND TELEVISION ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT ON AN AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM

I have asked for this radio and television time for the purpose of announcing that we have today concluded an agreement to end the war and bring peace with honor in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

The following statement is being issued at this moment in Washington and in Hanoi:

"At 12:30 p.m. Paris time today, January 23, 1973, The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam was initiated by Dr. Henry Kissinger on behalf of the United States and Special Advisor Le Duc Tho on behalf of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"The Agreement will be formally signed by the Parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam on January 27, 1973, at the International Conference Center in Paris. The cease-fire will take effect at 2400 Greenwich Mean Time January 27, 1973.

"The United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam express the hope that this Agreement will ensure stable peace in Vietnam and contribute to the preservation of lasting peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia."

Throughout the years of negotiations, we have insisted on peace with honor. In my addresses of January 25 and May 8, I set forth the goals that we considered essential to peace with honor. In the settlement that has now been agreed to, the conditions that I laid down then have all been met:

A cease-fire, internationally supervised, will begin at 7:00 p.m. this Saturday, January 27, Washington time.

Within 60 days from this Saturday, all Americans held prisoner throughout Indochina will be released. There will be the fullest possible accounting for all those who are missing in action.

During the same 60-day period, all American forces will be withdrawn from South Vietnam.

The people of South Vietnam have been guaranteed the right to determine their own future without outside interference.

By joint agreement, the full text of the Agreement and of the protocols to carry it out will be released tomorrow.

Throughout the negotiations, we have been in the closest consultation with President Thieu and other representatives of the Republic of Vietnam. This settlement meets the goals and has the full support of President Thieu and the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, as well as that of our other allies who are affected.

The United States will continue to recognize the Government of the Republic of Vietnam as the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam.

We shall continue to aid South Vietnam within the terms of the Agreement, and we shall support efforts by the people of South Vietnam to settle their problems peacefully among themselves.

We must recognize that ending the war is only the first step toward building the peace.



All parties must now see to it that this is a peace that lasts, a peace that heals—and a peace that not only ends the war in Southeast Asia, but contributes to the prospects of peace in the world.

This will mean that the terms of the Agreement must be scrupulously adhered to. We shall do everything the Agreement requires of us, and we shall expect the other parties to do everything it requires of them. We shall also expect other interested nations to help ensure that the Agreement is carried out and the peace maintained.

As this long and difficult war ends, I would like to address a few special words to each of those who have been parties to the conflict.

To the people and the Government of South Vietnam:

By your courage, by your sacrifice, you have won the precious right to determine your own future. You have developed the strength to defend that right. We look forward to working with you in the future, friends in peace as we have been allies in war.

To the leaders of North Vietnam:

As we have ended the war through negotiations, let us build a peace of reconciliation. For our part, we are prepared to make a major effort to help achieve that goal. But just as reciprocity was needed to end the war, so too will it be needed to build and strengthen the peace.

To the other major powers that have been involved, even indirectly:

Now is the time for mutual restraint, so that the peace we have achieved can be kept.

And finally, to the American people:

Your steadfastness in supporting our insistence on peace with honor has made peace with honor possible. I know that you would not have wanted that peace jeopardized.

With our secret negotiations at the sensitive stage they were in during this recent period, for me to have discussed publicly our efforts to secure peace would not only have violated our understanding with North Vietnam; it would have seriously harmed and possibly destroyed the chances for peace. Therefore, I know that you now can understand why, during these past several weeks, I have not made any public statements about those efforts. The important thing was not to talk about peace, but to get peace—and to get the right kind of peace. This we have done.

Now that we have achieved an honorable agreement, let us be proud that America did not settle for a peace that would have betrayed our allies, that would have abandoned our prisoners of war, or that would have ended the war for us but would have continued the war for the 50 million people of Indochina.

Let us be proud of the two and a half million young Americans who served in Vietnam—who served with honor and distinction in one of the most selfless enterprises in the history of nations.

Let us be proud of those who sacrificed—who gave their lives—so that the people of South Vietnam might live in freedom and so that the world might live in peace.

In particular, I would like to say a word to some of the bravest people I have ever met: the wives, the children, the families, of our prisoners of war and of the missing in action.

When others called on us to settle on any terms, you had the courage to stand for the right kind of peace, so that those who died and those who suffered would not have died and suffered in vain, and so that where this generation knew war the next generation could know peace.

Nothing means more to me now than the fact that your long vigil is coming to an end.

Just yesterday, a great American died.

In his life, President Johnson endured the vilification of those who sought to portray him as a man of war. But there was nothing he cared about more deeply than achieving a lasting peace in the world.

I remember the last time I talked with

him, just the day after New Year's. He spoke then of his concern with bringing peace, and with making it the right kind of peace, and I was grateful that he once again expressed his support for my efforts to gain such a peace.

No one would have welcomed this peace more than he. And I know he would join me in asking—for those who died, and for those who live—let us consecrate this moment by resolving together to make the peace we have achieved a peace that will last.

#### FACT SHEET: BASIC ELEMENTS OF VIETNAM AGREEMENT MILITARY PROVISIONS Cease-fire

Internationally supervised cease-fire throughout South and North Vietnam, effective at 7:00 pm EST, Saturday, January 27, 1973.

#### American Forces

Release within 60 days of all American servicemen and civilians captured and held throughout Indochina, and fullest possible accounting for missing in action.

Return of all United States forces and military personnel from South Vietnam within 60 days.

#### Security of South Vietnam

Ban on infiltration of troops and war supplies into South Vietnam.

The right to unlimited military replacement aid for the Republic of Vietnam.

Respect for the Demilitarized Zone.

Reunification only by peaceful means, through negotiation between North and South Vietnam without coercion or annexation.

Reduction and demobilization of Communist and Government forces in the South.

Ban on use of Laotian or Cambodian base areas to encroach on sovereignty and security of South Vietnam.

Withdrawal of all foreign troops from Laos and Cambodia.

#### POLITICAL PROVISIONS

Joint United States—Democratic Republic of Vietnam statement that the South Vietnamese people have the right to self-determination.

The Government of the Republic of Vietnam continues in existence, recognized by the United States, its constitutional structure and leadership intact and unchanged.

The right to unlimited economic aid for the Republic of Vietnam.

Formation of a non-governmental National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, operating by unanimity, to organize elections as agreed by the parties and to promote conciliation and implementation of the Agreement.

#### INDOCHINA

Reaffirmation of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia and Laos.

Respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality of Cambodia and Laos.

Ban on infiltration of troops and war supplies into Cambodia and Laos.

Ban on use of Laotian and Cambodian base areas to encroach on sovereignty and security of one another and of other countries.

Withdrawal of all foreign troops from Laos and Cambodia.

In accordance with traditional United States policy, U.S. participation in postwar reconstruction efforts throughout Indochina.

With the ending of the war, a new basis for U.S. relations with North Vietnam.

#### CONTROL AND SUPERVISION

An International Commission of Control and Supervision, with 1160 international supervisory personnel, to control and supervise the elections and various military provisions of the Agreement.

An International Conference within 30

days to guarantee the Agreement and the ending of the war.

Joint Military Commissions of the parties to implement appropriate provisions of the Agreement.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Paris, Saturday morning, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

#### AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM

The Parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam.

With a view to ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and to contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world,

Have agreed on the following provisions and undertake to respect and to implement them:

#### CHAPTER I—THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL RIGHTS

##### Article 1

The United States and all other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Vietnam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

#### CHAPTER II—CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES— WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS

##### Article 2

A cease-fire shall be observed throughout South Vietnam as of 2400 hours G.M.T., on January 27, 1973.

At the same hour, the United States will stop all its military activities against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by ground, air and naval forces, wherever they may be based, and end the mining of the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The United States will remove, permanently deactivate or destroy all the mines in the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of North Vietnam as soon as this Agreement goes into effect.

The complete cessation of hostilities mentioned in this Article shall be durable and without limit of time.

##### Article 3

The parties undertake to maintain the cease-fire and to ensure a lasting and stable peace.

As soon as the cease-fire goes into effect:

(a) The United States forces and those of the other foreign countries allied with the United States and the Republic of Vietnam shall remain in-place pending the implementation of the plan of troop withdrawal. The Four-Party Joint Military Commission described in Article 16 shall determine the modalities.

(b) The armed forces of the two South Vietnamese parties shall remain in-place. The Two-Party Joint Military Commission described in Article 17 shall determine the areas controlled by each party and the modalities of stationing.

(c) The regular forces of all services and arms and the irregular forces of the parties in South Vietnam shall stop all offensive activities against each other and shall strictly abide by the following stipulations:

All acts of force on the ground, in the air, and on the sea shall be prohibited;

All hostile acts, terrorism and reprisals by both sides will be banned.

##### Article 4

The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam.

##### Article 5

Within sixty days of the signing of this Agreement, there will be a total withdrawal from South Vietnam of troops, military advisers, and military personnel, including

technical military personnel and military personnel associated with the pacification program, armaments, munitions, and war material of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a). Advisers from the above-mentioned countries to all paramilitary organizations and the police force will also be withdrawn within the same period of time.

#### Article 6

The dismantlement of all military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a) shall be completed within sixty days of the signing of this Agreement.

#### Article 7

From the enforcement of the cease-fire to the formation of the government provided for in Articles 9(b) and 14 of this Agreement, the two South Vietnamese parties shall not accept the introduction of troops, military advisers, and military personnel including technical military personnel, armaments, munitions, and war material into South Vietnam.

The two South Vietnamese parties shall be permitted to make periodic replacement of armaments, munitions and war material which have been destroyed, damaged, worn out or used up after the cease-fire, on the basis of piece-for-piece, of the same characteristics and properties, under the supervision of the Joint Military Commission of the two South Vietnamese parties and of the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

#### CHAPTER III—THE RETURN OF CAPTURED MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FOREIGN CIVILIANS, AND CAPTURED AND DETAINED VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

#### Article 8

(a) The return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties shall be carried out simultaneously with and completed not later than the same day as the troop withdrawal mentioned in Article 5. The parties shall exchange complete lists of the above-mentioned captured military personnel and foreign civilians on the day of the signing of this Agreement.

(b) The parties shall help each other to get information about those military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties missing in action, to determine the location and take care of the graves of the dead so as to facilitate the exhumation and repatriation of the remains, and to take any such other measures as may be required to get information about those still considered missing in action.

(c) The question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam will be resolved by the two South Vietnamese parties on the basis of the principles of Article 21(b) of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam of July 20, 1954. The two South Vietnamese parties will do so in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, with a view to ending hatred and enmity, in order to ease suffering and to reunite families. The two South Vietnamese parties will do their utmost to resolve this question within ninety days after the cease-fire comes into effect.

#### CHAPTER IV—THE EXERCISE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

#### Article 9

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam undertake to respect the following principles for the exercise of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination:

(a) The South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination is sacred, inalienable, and shall be respected by all countries.

(b) The South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of

South Vietnam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision.

(c) Foreign countries shall not impose any political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people.

#### Article 10

The two South Vietnamese parties undertake to respect the cease-fire and maintain peace in South Vietnam, settle all matters of contention through negotiations, and avoid all armed conflict.

#### Article 11

Immediately after the cease-fire, the two South Vietnamese parties will:

Achieve national reconciliation and concord, end hatred and enmity, prohibit all acts of reprisal and discrimination against individuals or organizations that have collaborated with one side or the other;

Ensure the democratic liberties of the people: personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of meeting, freedom of organization, freedom of political activities, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of work, right to property ownership, and right to free enterprise.

#### Article 12

(a) Immediately after the cease-fire, the two South Vietnamese parties shall hold consultations in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect, and mutual non-elimination to set up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments. The Council shall operate on the principle of unanimity. After the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord has assumed its functions, the two South Vietnamese parties will consult about the formation of councils at lower levels. The two South Vietnamese parties shall sign an agreement on the internal matters of South Vietnam as soon as possible and do their utmost to accomplish this within ninety days after the cease-fire comes into effect, in keeping with the South Vietnamese people's aspirations for peace, independence and democracy.

(b) The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord shall have the task of promoting the two South Vietnamese parties' implementation of this Agreement, achievement of national reconciliation and concord and ensurance of democratic liberties. The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord will organize the free and democratic general elections provided for in Article 9(b) and decide the procedures and modalities of these general elections. The institutions for which the general elections are to be held will be agreed upon through consultations between the two South Vietnamese parties. The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord will also decide the procedures and modalities of such local elections as the two South Vietnamese parties agree upon.

#### Article 13

The question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam shall be settled by the two South Vietnamese parties in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the postwar situation. Among the questions to be discussed by the two South Vietnamese parties are steps to reduce their military effectives and to demobilize the troops being reduced. The two South Vietnamese parties will accomplish this as soon as possible.

#### Article 14

South Vietnam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and independence. It will be prepared to establish relations with all countries irrespective of their political and social systems on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty and accept economic and technical aid from any coun-

try with no political conditions attached. The acceptance of military aid by South Vietnam in the future shall come under the authority of the government set up after the general elections in South Vietnam provided for in Article 9(b).

#### CHAPTER V—THE REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM

#### Article 15

The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of discussions and agreements between North and South Vietnam, without coercion or annexation by either party, and without foreign interference. The time for reunification will be agreed upon by North and South Vietnam.

#### Pending reunification:

(a) The military demarcation line between the two zones at the 17th parallel is only provisional and not a political or territorial boundary, as provided for in paragraph 6 of the Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference.

(b) North and South Vietnam shall respect the Demilitarized Zone on either side of the Provisional Military Demarcation Line.

(c) North and South Vietnam shall promptly start negotiations with a view to reestablishing normal relations in various fields. Among the questions to be negotiated are the modalities of civilian movement across the Provisional Military Demarcation Line.

(d) North and South Vietnam shall not join any military alliance or military bloc and shall not allow foreign powers to maintain military bases, troops, military advisers, and military personnel on their respective territories, as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

#### CHAPTER VI—THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION, THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

#### Article 16

(a) The Parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam shall immediately designate representatives to form a Four-Party Joint Military Commission with the task of ensuring joint action by the parties in implementing the following provisions of this Agreement:

The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the cease-fire throughout South Vietnam;

Article 3(a), regarding the cease-fire by U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries referred to in that Article;

Article 3(c), regarding the cease-fire between all parties in South Vietnam;

Article 5, regarding the withdrawal from South Vietnam of U.S. troops and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a);

Article 6, regarding the dismantlement of military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a);

Article 8(a), regarding the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties;

Article 8(b), regarding the mutual assistance of the parties in getting information about those military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties missing in action.

(b) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity. Disagreements shall be referred to the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

(c) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall begin operating immediately after the signing of this Agreement and end its activities in sixty days, after the completion of the withdrawal of U.S. troops and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a) and the completion of



the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties.

(d) The four parties shall agree immediately on the organization, the working procedure, means of activity, and expenditures of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission.

#### Article 17

(a) The two South Vietnamese parties shall immediately designate representatives to form a Two-Party Joint Military Commission with the task of ensuring joint action by the two South Vietnamese parties in implementing the following provisions of this Agreement:

The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the cease-fire throughout South Vietnam, when the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities;

Article 3(b), regarding the cease-fire between the two South Vietnamese parties;

Article 3(c), regarding the cease-fire between all parties in South Vietnam, when the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities;

Article 7, regarding the prohibition of the introduction of troops into South Vietnam and all other provisions of this article;

Article 8(c), regarding the question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam;

Article 13, regarding the reduction of the military effectives of the two South Vietnamese parties and the demobilization of the troops being reduced.

(b) Disagreements shall be referred to the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

(c) After the signing of this Agreement, the Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall agree immediately on the measures and organization aimed at enforcing the cease-fire and preserving peace in South Vietnam.

#### Article 18

(a) After the signing of this Agreement, an International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be established immediately.

(b) Until the International Conference provided for in Article 19 makes definitive arrangements, the International Commission of Control and Supervision will report to the four parties on matters concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of the following provisions of this Agreement:

The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the cease-fire throughout South Vietnam;

Article 3(a), regarding the cease-fire by U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries referred to in that Article;

Article 3(c) regarding the cease-fire between all the parties in South Vietnam;

Article 5, regarding the withdrawal from South Vietnam of U.S. troops and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a);

Article 6, regarding the dismantlement of military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a);

Article 8(a), regarding the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties.

The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall form control teams for carrying out its tasks. The four parties shall agree immediately on the location and operation of these teams. The parties will facilitate their operation.

(c) Until the International Conference makes definitive arrangements, the International Commission of Control and Supervision will report to the two South Vietnamese parties on matters concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of the following provisions of this Agreement:

The first paragraph of Article 2, regarding the enforcement of the cease-fire throughout South Vietnam, when the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities;

Article 3(b), regarding the cease-fire between the two South Vietnamese parties;

Article 3(c), regarding the cease-fire between all parties in South Vietnam, when the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities;

Article 7, regarding the prohibition of the introduction of troops into South Vietnam and all other provisions of this Article;

Article 8(c), regarding the question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam;

Article 9(b), regarding the free and democratic general elections in South Vietnam;

Article 13, regarding the reduction of the military effectives of the two South Vietnamese parties and demobilization of the troops being reduced.

The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall form control teams for carrying out its tasks. The two South Vietnamese parties shall agree immediately on the location and operation of these teams. The two South Vietnamese parties will facilitate their operation.

(d) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be composed of representatives of four countries: Canada, Hungary, Indonesia and Poland. The chairmanship of this Commission will rotate among the members for specific periods to be determined by the Commission.

(e) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall carry out its tasks in accordance with the principle of respect for the sovereignty of South Vietnam.

(f) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity.

(g) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall begin operating when a cease-fire comes into force in Vietnam. As regards the provisions in Article 18

(b) concerning the four parties, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall end its activities when the Commission's tasks of control and supervision regarding these provisions have been fulfilled. As regards the provisions in Article 18(c) concerning the two South Vietnamese parties, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall end its activities on the request of the government formed after the general elections in South Vietnam provided for in Article 9(b).

(h) The four parties shall agree immediately on the organization, means of activity, and expenditures of the International Commission of Control and Supervision. The relationship between the International Commission and the International Conference will be agreed upon by the International Commission and the International Conference.

#### Article 19

The parties agree on the convening of an International Conference within thirty days of the signing of this Agreement to acknowledge the signed agreements; to guarantee the ending of the war, the maintenance of peace in Vietnam, the respect of the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination; and to contribute to and guarantee peace in Indochina.

The United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on behalf of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam, will propose to the following parties that they participate in this International Conference: the People's Republic of China, the Republic of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the four countries of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, and the Sec-

retary General of the United Nations, together with the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam.

#### CHAPTER VII—REGARDING CAMBODIA AND LAOS

##### Article 20

(a) The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam shall strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, which recognized the Cambodian and the Lao peoples' fundamental national rights, i.e., the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of these countries. The parties shall respect the neutrality of Cambodia and Laos.

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam undertake to refrain from using the territory of Cambodia and the territory of Laos to encroach on the sovereignty and security of one another and of other countries.

(b) Foreign countries shall put an end to all military activities in Cambodia and Laos, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these two countries troops, military advisers and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material.

(c) The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of these countries without foreign interference.

(d) The problems existing between the Indochinese countries shall be settled by the Indochinese parties on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

#### CHAPTER VIII—THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

##### Article 21

The United States anticipates that this Agreement will usher in an era of reconciliation with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as with all the peoples of Indochina. In pursuance of its traditional policy, the United States will contribute to healing the wounds of war and to postwar reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and throughout Indochina.

##### Article 22

The ending of the war, the restoration of peace in Vietnam, and the strict implementation of this Agreement will create conditions for establishing a new, equal and mutually beneficial relationship between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. At the same time this will ensure stable peace in Vietnam and contribute to the preservation of lasting peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

#### CHAPTER IX—OTHER PROVISIONS

##### Article 23

This agreement shall enter into force upon signature by plenipotentiary representatives of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam. All the parties concerned shall strictly implement this Agreement and its Protocols.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

[Separate Numbered Page]

For the Government of the United States of America; William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Republic of Vietnam; Tran Van Lam, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[Separate Numbered Page]

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam; Nguyen Thi Binh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Paris, Saturday afternoon, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

#### AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM

The Government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam,

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam,

With a view to ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and to contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world,

Have agreed on the following provisions and undertake to respect and to implement them:

[Text of Agreement Chapters I-VIII Same as Above]

#### CHAPTER IX—OTHER PROVISIONS

##### Article 23

The Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and upon signature of a document in the same terms by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Agreement and the protocols to it shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Paris, Saturday morning, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

#### PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam,

In implementation of Article 18 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed on this date providing for the formation of the International Commission of Control and Supervision,

Have agreed as follows:

##### ARTICLE 1

The implementation of the Agreement is the responsibility of the parties signatory to the Agreement.

The functions of the International Commission are to control and supervise the implementation of the provisions mentioned in Article 18 of the Agreement. In carrying

out these functions, the International Commission shall:

(a) Follow the implementation of the above-mentioned provisions of the Agreement through communication with the parties and on-the-spot observation at the places where this is required;

(b) Investigate violations of the provisions which fall under the control and supervision of the Commission;

(c) When necessary, cooperate with the Joint Military Commissions in deterring and detecting violations of the above-mentioned provisions.

##### ARTICLE 2

The International Commission shall investigate violations of the provisions described in Article 18 of the Agreement on the request of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission, or of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, or of any party, or, with respect to Article 9 (b) of the Agreement on general elections, of the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, or in any case where the International Commission has other adequate grounds for considering that there has been a violation of those provisions. It is understood that, in carrying out this task, the International Commission shall function with the concerned parties' assistance and cooperation as required.

##### ARTICLE 3

(a) When the International Commission finds that there is a serious violation in the implementation of the Agreement or a threat to peace against which the Commission can find no appropriate measure, the Commission shall report this to the four parties to the Agreement so that they can hold consultations to find a solution.

(b) In accordance with Article 18 (f) of the Agreement, the International Commission's reports shall be made with the unanimous agreement of the representatives of all the four members. In case no unanimity is reached, the Commission shall forward the different views to the four parties in accordance with Article 18 (b) of the Agreement, or to the two South Vietnamese parties in accordance with Article 18 (c) of the Agreement, but these shall not be considered as reports of the Commission.

##### ARTICLE 4

(a) The headquarters of the International Commission shall be at Saigon.

(b) There shall be seven regional teams located in the regions shown on the annexed map and based at the following places:

Regions:	Places
I	Hue
II	Danang
III	Pleiku
IV	Phan Thiet
V	Bien Hoa
VI	My Tho
VII	Can Tho

The International Commission shall designate three teams for the region of Saigon-Gia Dinh.

(c) There shall be twenty-six teams operating in the areas shown on the annexed map and based at the following places in South Vietnam:

Region I:	Quang Tri, Phu Bai.
Region II:	Hoi An, Tam Ky, Chu Lai.
Region III:	Kontum, Hau Bon, Phu Cat, Tuy An, Ninh Hoa, Ban Me Thuot.
Region IV:	Da Lat, Bao Loc, Phan Rang.
Region V:	An Loc, Xuan Loc, Ben Cat, Cu Chi, Tan An.
Region VI:	Moc Hoa, Giong Trom.
Region VII:	Tri Ton, Vinh Long, Vi Thanh, Khanh Hung, Quan Long.

(d) There shall be twelve teams located as shown on the annexed map and based at the following places:

Gio Linh (to cover the area south of the Provisional Military Demarcation Line).

Lao Bao.  
Ben Het.  
Duc Co.  
Chu Lai.  
Qui Nhon.  
Nha Trang.  
Vung Tau.  
Xa Mat.  
Bien Hoa Airfield.  
Hong Ngu.  
Can Tho.

(e) There shall be seven teams, six or which shall be available for assignment to the points of entry which are not listed in paragraph (d) above and which the two South Vietnamese parties choose as points for legitimate entry to South Vietnam for replacement of armaments, munitions, and war material permitted by Article 7 of the Agreement. Any team or teams not needed for the above-mentioned assignment shall be available for other tasks, in keeping with the Commission's responsibility for control and supervision.

(f) There shall be seven teams to control and supervise the return of captured and detained personnel of the parties.

##### ARTICLE 5

(a) To carry out its tasks concerning the return of the captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties as stipulated by Article 8(a) of the Agreement, the International Commission shall, during the time of such return, send one control and supervision team to each place in Vietnam where the captured persons are being returned, and to the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return.

(b) To carry out its tasks concerning the return of the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam mentioned in Article 8(c) of the Agreement, the International Commission shall, during the time of such return, send one control and supervision team to each place in South Vietnam where the above-mentioned captured and detained persons are being returned, and to the last detention places from which these persons shall be taken to the places of return.

##### ARTICLE 6

To carry out its tasks regarding Article 9 (b) of the Agreement on the free and democratic general elections in South Vietnam, the International Commission shall organize additional teams, when necessary. The International Commission shall discuss this question in advance with the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord. If additional teams are necessary for this purpose, they shall be formed thirty days before the general elections.

##### ARTICLE 7

The International Commission shall continually keep under review its size, and shall reduce the number of its teams, its representatives or other personnel, or both, when those teams, representatives or personnel have accomplished the tasks assigned to them and are not required for other tasks. At the same time, the expenditures of the International Commission shall be reduced correspondingly.

##### ARTICLE 8

Each member of the International Commission shall make available at all times the following numbers of qualified personnel:

(a) One senior representative and twenty-six others for the headquarters staff.

(b) Five for each of the seven regional teams.

(c) Two for each of the other international control teams, except for the teams at Gio Linh and Vung Tau, each of which shall have three.



(d) One hundred sixteen for the purpose of providing support to the Commission Headquarters and its teams.

#### ARTICLE 9

(a) The International Commission, and each of its teams, shall act as a single body comprising representatives of all four members.

(b) Each member has the responsibility to ensure the presence of its representatives at all levels of the International Commission. In case a representative is absent, the member concerned shall immediately designate a replacement.

#### ARTICLE 10

(a) The parties shall afford full cooperation, assistance, and protection to the International Commission.

(b) The parties shall at all times maintain regular and continuous liaison with the International Commission. During the existence of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission, the delegations of the parties to that Commission shall also perform liaison functions with the International Commission. After the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities, such liaison shall be maintained through the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, liaison missions, or other adequate means.

(c) The International Commission and the Joint Military Commissions shall closely cooperate with and assist each other in carrying out their respective functions.

(d) Wherever a team is stationed or operating, the concerned party shall designate a liaison officer to the team to cooperate with and assist it in carrying out without hindrance its task of control and supervision. When a team is carrying out an investigation, a liaison officer from each concerned party shall have the opportunity to accompany it, provided the investigation is not thereby delayed.

(e) Each party shall give the International Commission reasonable advance notice of all proposed actions concerning those provisions of the Agreement that are to be controlled and supervised by the International Commission.

(f) The International Commission, including its teams, is allowed such movement for observation as is reasonably required for the proper exercise of its functions as stipulated in the Agreement. In carrying out these functions, the International Commission, including its teams, shall enjoy all necessary assistance and cooperation from the parties concerned.

#### ARTICLE 11

In supervising the holding of the free and democratic general elections described in Articles 9 (b) and 12 (b) of the Agreement in accordance with modalities to be agreed upon between the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord and the International Commission, the latter shall receive full cooperation and assistance from the National Council.

#### ARTICLE 12

The International Commission and its personnel who have the nationality of a member state shall, while carrying out their tasks, enjoy privileges and immunities equivalent to those accorded diplomatic missions and diplomatic agents.

#### ARTICLE 13

The International Commission may use the means of communication and transport necessary to perform its functions. Each South Vietnamese party shall make available for rent to the International Commission appropriate office and accommodation facilities and shall assist it in obtaining such facilities. The International Commission may receive from the parties, on mutually agreeable terms, the necessary means of communication and

transport and may purchase from any source necessary equipment and services not obtained from the parties. The International Commission shall possess these means.

#### ARTICLE 14

The expenses for the activities of the International Commission shall be borne by the parties and the members of the International Commission in accordance with the provisions of this Article:

(a) Each member country of the International Commission shall pay the salaries and allowances of its personnel.

(b) All other expenses incurred by the International Commission shall be met from a fund to which each of the four parties shall contribute twenty-three percent (23%) and to which each member of the International Commission shall contribute two percent (2%).

(c) Within thirty days of the date of entry into force of this Protocol, each of the four parties shall provide the International Commission with an initial sum equivalent to four million, five hundred thousand (4,500,000) French francs in convertible currency, which sum shall be credited against the amounts due from that party under the first budget.

(d) The International Commission shall prepare its own budgets. After the International Commission approves a budget, it shall transmit it to all parties signatory to the Agreement for their approval. Only after the budgets have been approved by the four parties to the Agreement shall they be obliged to make their contributions. However, in case the parties to the Agreement do not agree on a new budget, the International Commission shall temporarily base its expenditures on the previous budget, except for the extraordinary, one-time expenditures for installation or for the acquisition of equipment, and the parties shall continue to make their contributions on that basis until a new budget is approved.

#### ARTICLE 15

(a) The headquarters shall be operational and in place within 24 hours after the cease-fire.

(b) The regional teams shall be operational and in place, and three teams for supervision and control of the return of the captured and detained personnel shall be operational and ready for dispatch within 48 hours after the cease-fire.

(c) Other teams shall be operational and in place within fifteen to thirty days after the cease-fire.

#### ARTICLE 16

Meetings shall be convened at the call of the Chairman. The International Commission shall adopt other working procedures appropriate for the effective discharge of its functions and consistent with respect for the sovereignty of South Vietnam.

#### ARTICLE 17

The Members of the International Commission may accept the obligations of this Protocol by sending notes of acceptance to the four parties signatory to the Agreement. Should a member of the International Commission decide to withdraw from the International Commission, it may do so by giving three months notice by means of notes to the four parties to the Agreement, in which case those four parties shall consult among themselves for the purpose of agreeing upon a replacement member.

#### ARTICLE 18

This Protocol shall enter into force upon signature by plenipotentiary representatives of all the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam. It shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and

Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are officially and equally authentic.

[Separate Numbered Page]

For the Government of the United States of America: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Republic of Vietnam: Tran Van Lam, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[Separate Numbered Page]

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam: Nguyen Thi Binh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Paris, Saturday afternoon, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

#### PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION

The Government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam,

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam,

In implementation of Article 18 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed on this date providing for the formation of the International Commission of Control and Supervision,

Have agreed as follows:

[Text of Protocol Articles 1-17 same as above.]

#### ARTICLE 18

The Protocol to the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam concerning the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and upon signature of a document in the same terms by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Protocol shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are officially and equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Paris, Saturday morning, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

#### PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM AND CEASE-FIRE IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam.

In implementation of the first paragraph of Article 2, Article 3, Article 5, Article 6, Article 16 and Article 17 of the Agreement

on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed on this date which provide for the cease-fire in South Vietnam and the establishment of a Four-Party Joint Military Commission and a Two-Party Joint Military Commission.

Have agreed as follows:

#### CEASE-FIRE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

##### Article 1

The High Commands of the parties in South Vietnam shall issue prompt and timely orders to all regular and irregular armed forces and the armed police under their command to completely end hostilities throughout South Vietnam, at the exact time stipulated in Article 2 of the Agreement and ensure that these armed forces and armed police comply with these orders and respect the cease-fire.

##### Article 2

(a) As soon as the cease-fire comes into force and until regulations are issued by the Joint Military Commissions, all ground, river, sea and air combat forces of the parties in South Vietnam shall remain in place; that is, in order to ensure a stable cease-fire, there shall be no major redeployments or movements that would extend each party's area of control or would result in contact between opposing armed forces and clashes which might take place.

(b) All regular and irregular armed forces and the armed police of the parties in South Vietnam shall observe the prohibition of the following acts:

(1) Armed patrols into areas controlled by opposing armed forces and flights by bomber and fighter aircraft of all types, except for unarmed flights for proficiency training and maintenance;

(2) Armed attacks against any person, either military or civilian, by any means whatsoever, including the use of small arms, mortars, artillery, bombing and strafing by airplanes and any other type of weapon or explosive device;

(3) All combat operations on the ground, on rivers, on the sea and in the air;

(4) All hostile acts, terrorism or reprisals; and

(5) All acts endangering lives or public or private property.

##### Article 3

(a) The above-mentioned prohibitions shall not hamper or restrict:

(1) Civilian supply, freedom of movement, freedom to work, and freedom of the people to engage in trade, and civilian communication and transportation between and among all areas in South Vietnam;

(2) The use of each party in areas under its control of military support elements, such as engineer and transportation units, in repair and construction of public facilities and the transportation and supplying of the population;

(3) Normal military proficiency training conducted by the parties in the areas under their respective control with due regard for public safety.

(b) The Joint Military Commissions shall immediately agree on corridors, routes, and other regulations governing the movement of military transport aircraft, military transport vehicles, and military transport vessels of all types of one party going through areas under the control of other parties.

##### Article 4

In order to avert conflict and ensure normal conditions for those armed forces which are in direct contact, and pending regulation by the Joint Military Commissions, the commanders of the opposing armed forces at those places of direct contact shall meet as soon as the cease-fire comes into force with a view to reaching an agreement on temporary measures to avert conflict and to ensure supply and medical care for these armed forces.

##### Article 5

(a) Within fifteen days after the cease-fire comes into effect, each party shall do its utmost to complete the removal or deactivation of all demolition objects, minefields, traps, obstacles or other dangerous objects placed previously, so as not to hamper the population's movement and work, in the first place on waterways, roads and railroads in South Vietnam. Those mines which cannot be removed or deactivated within that time shall be clearly marked and must be removed or deactivated as soon as possible.

(b) Emplacement of mines is prohibited, except as a defensive measure around the edges of military installations in places where they do not hamper the population's movement and work, and movement on waterways, roads and railroads. Mines and other obstacles already in place at the edges of military installations may remain in place if they are in places where they do not hamper the population's movement and work, and movement on waterways, roads and railroads.

##### Article 6

Civilian police and civilian security personnel of the parties in South Vietnam, who are responsible for the maintenance of law and order, shall strictly respect the prohibitions set forth in Article 2 of this Protocol. As required by their responsibilities, normally they shall be authorized to carry pistols, but when required by unusual circumstances, they shall be allowed to carry other small individual arms.

##### Article 7

(a) The entry into South Vietnam of replacement armaments, munitions, and war material permitted under Article 7 of the Agreement shall take place under the supervision and control of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission and of the International Commission of Control and Supervision and through such points of entry only as are designated by the two South Vietnamese parties. The two South Vietnamese parties shall agree on these points of entry within fifteen days after the entry into force of the cease-fire. The two South Vietnamese parties may select as many as six points of entry which are not included in the list of places where teams of the International Commission of Control and Supervision are to be based contained in Article 4(d) of the Protocol concerning the International Commission. At the same time, the two South Vietnamese parties may also select points of entry from the list of places set forth in Article 4(d) of that Protocol.

(b) Each of the designated points of entry shall be available only for that South Vietnamese party which is in control of that point. The two South Vietnamese parties shall have an equal number of points of entry.

##### Article 8

(a) In implementation of Article 5 of the Agreement, the United States and the other foreign countries referred to in Article 5 of the Agreement shall take with them all their armaments, munitions, and war material. Transfers of such items which would leave them in South Vietnam shall not be made subsequent to the entry into force of the Agreement except for transfers of communications, transport, and other non-combat material to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission or the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

(b) Within five days after the entry into force of the cease-fire, the United States shall inform the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision of the general plans for timing of complete troop withdrawals which shall take place in four phases of fifteen days each. It is anticipated that the numbers of troops withdrawn in each phase are not likely to be widely different,

although it is not feasible to ensure equal numbers. The approximate numbers to be withdrawn in each phase shall be given to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision sufficiently in advance of actual withdrawals so that they can properly carry out their tasks in relation thereto.

##### Article 9

(a) In implementation of Article 6 of the Agreement, the United States and the other foreign countries referred to in that Article shall dismantle and remove from South Vietnam or destroy all military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and of the other foreign countries referred to in that Article, including weapons, mines, and other military equipment at these bases, for the purpose of making them unusable for military purposes.

(b) The United States shall supply the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision with necessary information on plans for base dismantlement so that those Commissions can properly carry out their tasks in relation thereto.

#### THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS

##### Article 10

(a) The implementation of the Agreement is the responsibility of the parties signatory to the Agreement.

The Four-Party Military Commission has the task of ensuring joint action by the parties in implementing the Agreement by serving as a channel of communication among the parties, by drawing up plans and fixing the modalities to carry out, coordinate, follow and inspect the implementation of the provisions mentioned in Article 16 of the Agreement, and by negotiating and settling all matters concerning the implementation of those provisions.

(b) The concrete tasks of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission are:

(1) To coordinate, follow and inspect the implementation of the above-mentioned provisions of the Agreement by the four parties;

(2) To deter and detect violations, to deal with cases of violation, and to settle conflicts and matters of contention between the parties relating to the above-mentioned provisions;

(3) To dispatch without delay one or more joint teams, as required by specific cases, to any part of South Vietnam, to investigate alleged violations of the Agreement and to assist the parties in finding measures to prevent recurrence of similar cases;

(4) To engage in observation at the places where this is necessary in the exercise of its functions;

(5) To perform such additional tasks as it may, by unanimous decision, determine.

##### Article 11

(a) There shall be a Central Joint Military Commission located in Saigon. Each party shall designate immediately a military delegation of fifty-nine persons to represent it on the Central Commission. The senior officer designated by each party shall be a general officer, or equivalent.

(b) There shall be seven Regional Joint Military Commissions located in the regions shown on the annexed map and based at the following places:

#### Regions and Places

I	----- Hue
II	----- Danang
III	----- Pleiku
IV	----- Phan Thiet
V	----- Bien Hoa
VI	----- My Tho
VII	----- Can Tho

Each party shall designate a military delegation of sixteen persons to represent it on each Regional Commission. The senior officer designated by each party shall be an officer from the rank of Lieutenant Colonel to Colonel, or equivalent.



(c) There shall be a joint military team operating in each of the areas shown on the annexed map and based at each of the following places in South Vietnam:

Region I: Quang Tri, Phu Bai.

Region II: Hoi An, Tam Ky, Chu Lai.

Region III: Kontum, Hau Bon, Phu Cat, Tuy An, Ninh Hao, Ban Me Thuot.

Region IV: Da Lat, Bao Loc, Phan Rang.

Region V: An Loc, Xuan Loc, Ben Cat, Cu Chi, Tan An.

Region VI: Moc Hoa, Giong Trom.

Region VII: Tri Ton, Vinh Long, Vi Thanh, Khanh Hung, Quan Long.

Each party shall provide four qualified persons for each joint military team. The senior person designated by each party shall be an officer from the rank of Major to Lieutenant Colonel, or equivalent.

(d) The Regional Joint Military Commissions shall assist the Central Joint Military Commission in performing its tasks and shall supervise the operations of the joint military teams. The region of Saigon-Gia Dinh is placed under the responsibility of the Central Commission which shall designate joint military teams to operate in this region.

(e) Each party shall be authorized to provide support and guard personnel for its delegations to the Central Joint Military Commission and Regional Joint Military Commissions, and for its members of the joint military teams. The total number of support and guard personnel for each party shall not exceed five hundred and fifty.

(f) The Central Joint Military Commission may establish such joint sub-commissions, joint staffs and joint military teams as circumstances may require. The Central Commission shall determine the numbers of personnel required for any additional sub-commissions, staffs or teams it establishes, provided that each party shall designate one-fourth of the number of personnel required and that the total number of personnel for the Four-Party Joint Military Commission, to include its staffs, teams, and support personnel, shall not exceed three thousand three hundred.

(g) The delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties may, by agreement, establish provisional sub-commissions and joint military teams to carry out the tasks specifically assigned to them by Article 17 of the Agreement. With respect to Article 7 of the Agreement, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall establish joint military teams at the points of entry into South Vietnam used for replacement of armaments, munition and war material which are designated in accordance with Article 7 of this Protocol. From the time the cease-fire comes into force to the time when the Two-Party Joint Military Commission becomes operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall form a provisional sub-commission and provisional joint military teams to carry out its tasks concerning captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel. Where necessary for the above purposes, the two South Vietnamese delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission.

#### Article 12

(a) In accordance with Article 17 of the Agreement which stipulates that the two South Vietnamese parties shall immediately designate their respective representatives to form the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, twenty-four hours after the cease-fire comes into force, the two designated South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall meet in Saigon so as to reach an agreement as soon as possible on organization and operation of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, as well as the measures and orga-

nization aimed at enforcing the cease-fire and preserving peace in South Vietnam.

(b) From the time the cease-fire comes into force to the time when the Two-Party Joint Military Commission becomes operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels shall simultaneously assume the tasks of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels, in addition to their functions as delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission.

(c) If, at the time the Four-Party Joint Military Commission ceases its operation in accordance with Article 16 of the Agreement, agreement has not been reached on organization of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, the delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties serving with the Four-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels shall continue temporarily to work together as a provisional two-party joint military commission and to assume the tasks of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels until the Two-Party Joint Military Commission becomes operational.

#### Article 13

In application of the principle of unanimity, the Joint Military Commissions shall have no chairmen, and meetings shall be convened at the request of any representative. The Joint Military Commissions shall adopt working procedures appropriate for the effective discharge of their functions and responsibilities.

#### Article 14

The Joint Military Commissions and the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall closely cooperate with and assist each other in carrying out their respective functions. Each Joint Military Commission shall inform the International Commission about the implementation of those provisions of the Agreement for which that Joint Military Commission has responsibility and which are within the competence of the International Commission. Each Joint Military Commission may request the International Commission to carry out specific observation activities.

#### Article 15

The Central Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall begin operating twenty-four hours after the cease-fire comes into force. The Regional Four-Party Joint Military Commissions shall begin operating forty-eight hours after the cease-fire comes into force. The joint military teams based at the places listed in Article 11(c) of this Protocol shall begin operating no later than fifteen days after the cease-fire comes into force. The delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties shall simultaneously begin to assume the tasks of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission as provided in Article 12 of this Protocol.

#### Article 16

(a) The parties shall provide full protection and all necessary assistance and co-operation to the Joint Military Commissions at all levels, in the discharge of their tasks.

(b) Each party, in its areas of control shall their personnel, while carrying out their tasks, shall enjoy privileges and immunities equivalent to those accorded diplomatic missions and diplomatic agents.

(c) The personnel of the Joint Military Commissions may carry pistols and wear special insignia decided upon by each Central Joint Military Commission. The personnel of each party while guarding Commission installations or equipment may be authorized to carry other individual small arms, as determined by each Central Joint Military Commission.

#### Article 17

(a) The delegation of each party to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and

the Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall have its own offices, communication, logistics and transportation means, including aircraft when necessary.

(b) Each party, in its areas of control shall provide appropriate office and accommodation facilities to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the Two-Party Joint Military Commission at all levels.

(c) The parties shall endeavor to provide to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, by means of loan, lease, or gift, the common means of operation, including equipment for communication, supply, and transport, including aircraft when necessary. The Joint Military Commission may purchase from any source necessary facilities, equipment, and services which are not supplied by the parties. The Joint Military Commissions shall possess and use these facilities and this equipment.

(d) The facilities and the equipment for common use mentioned above shall be returned to the parties when the Joint Military Commissions have ended their activities.

#### Article 18

The common expenses of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall be borne equally by the four parties, and the common expenses of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission in South Vietnam shall be borne equally by these two parties.

#### Article 19

This Protocol shall enter into force upon signature by plenipotentiary representatives of all the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam. It shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

[Separate Numbered Page.]

For the Government of the United States of America: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Republic of Vietnam: Tran Van Lam, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[Separate Numbered Page.]

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam: Nguyen Thi Binh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Paris, Saturday afternoon, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM CONCERNING THE CEASE-FIRE IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE JOINT MILITARY COMMISSIONS

The Government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

In implementation of the first paragraph of Article 2, Article 3, Article 5, Article 6, Article 16 and Article 17 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed on this date which provide for the cease-fire in South Vietnam and the establishment of a Four-Party Joint Military Commission and a Two-Party Joint Military Commission,

Have agreed as follows:

[Text of Protocol Articles 1-18 same as above.]

## Article 19

The Protocol to the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam concerning the Cease-fire in South Vietnam and the Joint Military Commissions shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and upon signature of a document in the same terms by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Protocol shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

## FACT SHEET: FOUR-PARTY JOINT MILITARY COMMISSION

**Participants:** The four parties to the Agreement.

**Numbers of Teams:** 1 Central Joint Military Commission—Saigon; 7 Regional Joint Military Commissions; 26 Teams based at localities throughout South Vietnam; Such other sub-commissions, staffs, and teams as Central Joint Military Commission establishes.

**Number of Personnel:** [Each party contributes one-fourth of the total in each case.] Central Joint Military Commission, 236.

Each Regional Joint Military Commission, 64.

Each team, 16.

Support and Guard personnel (ceiling), 2,200.

Total ceiling, 3,300.

**Functions:** To coordinate implementation of those provisions of the Agreement listed in Article 18; to deter and detect violations of those provisions; to carry out necessary observations and investigations; and to be a forum to settle differences.

**Voting:** Unanimity.

**Equipment:** The parties may supply it with common means of communication and transport. Each delegation shall have its own means of communication and transport.

**Duration:** 60 days, except for one team which shall continue as long as necessary to account for missing in action and location of graves.

**Provisional Two-Party Commission:** Pending the establishment of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission by agreement of the two South Vietnamese parties, the delegations of those two parties to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall provisionally carry out the functions of the Two-Party Commission.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Saturday morning, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM CONCERNING THE RETURN OF CAPTURED MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FOREIGN CIVILIANS AND CAPTURED AND DETAINED VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam,

In implementation of Article 8 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed on this date providing for the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians, and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel, Have agreed as follows:

THE RETURN OF CAPTURED MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FOREIGN CIVILIANS

## Article 1

The parties signatory to the Agreement shall return the captured military personnel of the parties mentioned in Article 8(a) of the Agreement as follows:

All captured military personnel of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a) of the Agreement shall be returned to United States authorities;

All captured Vietnamese military personnel, whether belonging to regular or irregular armed forces, shall be returned to the two South Vietnamese parties; they shall be returned to that South Vietnamese party under whose command they served.

## Article 2

All captured civilians who are nationals of the United States or of any other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a) of the Agreement shall be returned to United States authorities. All other captured foreign civilians shall be returned to the authorities of their country of nationality by any one of the parties willing and able to do so.

## Article 3

The parties shall today exchange complete lists of captured persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol.

## Article 4

(a) The return of all captured persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol shall be completed within sixty days of the signing of the Agreement at a rate no slower than the rate of withdrawal from South Vietnam of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 5 of the Agreement.

(b) Persons who are seriously ill, wounded or maimed, old persons and women shall be returned first. The remainder shall be returned either by returning all from one detention place after another or in order of their dates of capture, beginning with those who have been held the longest.

## Article 5

The return and reception of the persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol shall be carried out at places convenient to the concerned parties. Places of return shall be agreed upon by the Four-Party Joint Military Commission. The parties shall ensure the safety of personnel engaged in the return and reception of those persons.

## Article 6

Each party shall return all captured persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol without delay and shall facilitate their return and reception. The detaining parties shall not deny or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons may, on any grounds, have been prosecuted or sentenced.

THE RETURN OF CAPTURED AND DETAINED VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

## Article 7

(a) The question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam will be resolved by the two South Vietnamese parties on the basis of the principles of Article 21(b) of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam of July 20, 1954, which reads as follows:

"The term 'civilian internees' is understood to mean all persons who, having in

any way contributed to the political and armed struggle between the two parties, have been arrested for that reason and have been kept in detention by either party during the period of hostilities."

(b) The two South Vietnamese parties will do so in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord with a view to ending hatred and enmity in order to ease suffering and to reunite families. The two South Vietnamese parties will do their utmost to resolve this question within ninety days after the cease-fire comes into effect.

(c) Within fifteen days after the cease-fire comes into effect, the two South Vietnamese parties shall exchange lists of the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained by each party and lists of the places at which they are held.

TREATMENT OF CAPTURED PERSONS DURING DETENTION

## Article 8

(a) All captured military personnel of the parties and captured foreign civilians of the parties shall be treated humanely at all times, and in accordance with international practice.

They shall be protected against all violence to life and person, in particular against murder in any form, mutilation, torture and cruel treatment, and outrages upon personal dignity. These persons shall not be forced to join the armed forces of the detaining party.

They shall be given adequate food, clothing, shelter, and the medical attention required for their state of health. They shall be allowed to exchange post cards and letters with their families and receive parcels.

(b) All Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam shall be treated humanely at all times, and in accordance with international practice.

They shall be protected against all violence to life and person, in particular against murder in any form, mutilation, torture and cruel treatment, and outrages against personal dignity. The detaining parties shall not deny or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons may, on any grounds, have been prosecuted or sentenced. These persons shall not be forced to join the armed forces of the detaining party.

They shall be given adequate food, clothing, shelter, and the medical attention required for their state of health. They shall be allowed to exchange post cards and letters with their families and receive parcels.

## Article 9

(a) To contribute to improving the living conditions of the captured military personnel of the parties and foreign civilians of the parties, the parties shall, within fifteen days after the cease-fire comes into effect, agree upon the designation of two or more national Red Cross societies to visit all places where captured military personnel and foreign civilians are held.

(b) To contribute to improving the living conditions of the captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel, the two South Vietnamese parties shall, within fifteen days after the cease-fire comes into effect, agree upon the designation of two or more national Red Cross societies to visit all places where the captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel are held.

WITH REGARD TO DEAD AND MISSING PERSONS

## Article 10

(a) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall ensure joint action by the parties in implementing Article 8(b) of the Agreement. When the Four-Party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities, a Four-Party Joint Military team shall be maintained to carry on this task.

(b) With regard to Vietnamese civilian per-



sonnel dead or missing in South Vietnam, the two South Vietnamese parties shall help each other to obtain information about missing persons, determine the location and take care of the graves of the dead, in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, in keeping with the people's aspirations.

## OTHER PROVISIONS

## Article 11

(a) The Four-Party and Two-Party Joint Military Commissions will have the responsibility of determining immediately the modalities of implementing the provisions of this Protocol consistent with their respective responsibilities under Articles 16(a) and 17 (a) of the Agreement. In case the Joint Military Commissions, when carrying out their tasks, cannot reach agreement on a matter pertaining to the return of captured personnel they shall refer to the International Commission for its assistance.

(b) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall form, in addition to the teams established by the Protocol concerning the cease-fire in South Vietnam and the Joint Military Commissions, a sub-commission on captured persons and, as required, joint military teams on captured persons to assist the Commission in its tasks.

(c) From the time the cease-fire comes into force to the time when the Two-Party Joint Military Commission becomes operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall form a provisional sub-commission and provisional joint military teams to carry out its tasks concerning captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel.

(d) The Four-Party Joint Military Commission shall send joint military teams to observe the return of the persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this Protocol at each place in Vietnam where such persons are being returned, and at the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return. The Two-Party Joint Military Commission shall send joint military teams to observe the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained at each place in South Vietnam where such persons are being returned, and at the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return.

## Article 12

In implementation of Articles 18(b) and 18(c) of the Agreement, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall have the responsibility to control and supervise the observance of Articles 1 through 7 of this Protocol through observation of the return of captured military personnel, foreign civilians and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel at each place in Vietnam where these persons are being returned, and at the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return, the examination of lists, and the investigation of violations of the provisions of the above-mentioned Articles.

## Article 13

Within five days after signature of this Protocol, each party shall publish the text of the Protocol and communicate it to all the captured persons covered by the Protocol and being detained by that party.

## Article 14

This Protocol shall come into force upon signature by plenipotentiary representatives of all the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam. It shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

## [Separate Numbered Page]

For the Government of the United States of America: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Republic of Vietnam: Tran Van Lam, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

## [Separate Numbered Page]

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

For the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam: Nguyen Thi Binh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Paris, Saturday afternoon, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM CONCERNING THE RETURN OF CAPTURED MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FOREIGN CIVILIANS AND CAPTURED AND DETAINED VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

The Government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam,

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam,

In implementation of Article 8 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed on this date providing for the return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians, and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel,

Have agreed as follows:

[Text of Protocol Articles 1-13 same as above]

## Article 14

The Protocol to the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam concerning the Return of Captured Military Personnel and Foreign Civilians and Captured and Detained Vietnamese Civilian Personnel shall enter into force upon signature of this document by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and upon signature of a document in the same terms by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Protocol shall be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand and Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[To be signed at the International Conference Center, Paris, Saturday afternoon, Paris time, January 27, 1973]

PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM CONCERNING THE REMOVAL, PERMANENT DEACTIVATION, OR DESTRUCTION OF MINES IN THE TERRITORIAL WATERS, PORTS, HARBORS, AND WATERWAYS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The Government of the United States of America,

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,

In implementation of the second paragraph of Article 2 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed on this date,

Have agreed as follows:

## ARTICLE 1

The United States shall clear all the mines it has placed in the territorial waters, ports, harbors, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This mine clearing operation shall be accomplished by rendering the mines harmless through removal, permanent deactivation, or destruction.

## ARTICLE 2

With a view to ensuring lasting safety for the movement of people and watercraft and the protection of important installations, mines shall, on the request of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, be removed or destroyed in the indicated areas; and whenever their removal or destruction is impossible, mines shall be permanently deactivated and their emplacement clearly marked.

## ARTICLE 3

The mine clearing operation shall begin at twenty-four hours (2400) hours GMT on January 27, 1973. The representatives of the two parties shall consult immediately on relevant factors and agree upon the earliest possible target date for the completion of the work.

## ARTICLE 4

The mine clearing operation shall be conducted in accordance with priorities and timing agreed upon by the two parties. For this purpose, representatives of the two parties shall meet at an early date to reach agreement on a program and a plan of implementation, to this end:

(a) The United States shall provide its plan for mine clearing operations, including maps of the minefields and information concerning the types, numbers and properties of the mines;

(b) The Democratic Republic of Vietnam shall provide all available maps and hydrographic charts and indicate the mined places and all other potential hazards to the mine clearing operations that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is aware of;

(c) The two parties shall agree on the timing of implementation of each segment of the plan and provide timely notice to the public at least forty-eight hours in advance of the beginning of mine clearing operations for that segment.

## ARTICLE 5

The United States shall be responsible for the mine clearance on inland waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam shall, to the full extent of its capabilities, actively participate in the mine clearance with the means of surveying, removal and destruction and technical advice supplied by the United States.

## ARTICLE 6

With a view to ensuring the safe movement of people and watercraft on waterways and at sea, the United States shall in the mine clearing process supply timely information about the progress of mine clearing in each area, and about the remaining mines to be destroyed. The United States shall issue a communique when the operations have been concluded.

## ARTICLE 7

In conducting mine clearing operations, the U.S. personnel engaged in these operations shall respect the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and shall engage in no activities inconsistent with the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam and this Protocol. The U.S. personnel engaged in the mine

clearing operations shall be immune from the jurisdiction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the duration of the mine clearing operations.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam shall ensure the safety of the U.S. personnel for the duration of their mine clearing activities on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and shall provide this personnel with all possible assistance and the means needed in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam that have been agreed upon by the two parties.

#### ARTICLE 8

This Protocol to the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam shall enter into force upon signature by the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It shall be strictly implemented by the two parties.

Done in Paris this twenty-seventh day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Three, in Vietnamese and English. The Vietnamese and English texts are official and equally authentic.

For the Government of the United States of America: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

For the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

#### FACT SHEET: INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION

**Members:** Canada, Hungary, Indonesia, and Poland.

##### **Numbers of Teams:**

- 1 Headquarters—Saigon.
- 7 Regional Teams.
- 3 Teams for Saigon—Gia Dinh region.
- 26 Teams based at localities throughout South Vietnam.
- 12 Teams at border and coastal points.
- 7 Teams for return of prisoners.
- 7 Teams for additional points of entry and general use.

**Numbers of Personnel:** [Each member contributes one-fourth of the total of each case.]

- Headquarters, 108.
- Regional Teams, 20 each.
- Gia Dinh and Vung Tau teams, 12 each.
- All other teams, 8 each.
- Support personnel, 464.
- Total, 1,160.

**Functions:** To supervise and control implementation of those provisions of the Agreement listed in Article 18, through observation and investigation of violations.

**Voting:** Unanimity, but must investigate at the request of any one of the parties and must report minority and separate views of its members.

**Equipment:** Any of the parties may supply it with means of communication and transport, and it may purchase other equipment required for the exercise of its functions not provided by the parties to the agreement.

**Duration:** Until requested to end its activities by the government formed after the general elections provided for in Article 9 (b).

#### PEACE AT LAST

(Mr. FUQUA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, this Nation should join in a prayer of thanksgiving and resolve. It should be a period of thanksgiving that this conflict is ending and our prisoners of war will be re-

turned to their long suffering loved ones and our missing in action accounted for.

There is no jubilation nor dancing in the streets as there was after World War II, a conflict we thought would end all wars. Perhaps this means we have matured as a people and have learned a lesson so we will never again engage in such a tragedy.

The details of the settlement are not clear, but somehow they must include all of Indochina if there is truly to be the peace for which we pray.

We must now move in the spirit of nonpartisan determination to fully define the powers of the Executive to send our defense forces into armed conflict. This is essential if we are not to repeat the mistakes of the past and I fully believe that we will have the support of the President in this endeavor.

Finally, if the world has learned that there is a brotherhood of man that transcends nations and governments and we truly achieve peace, then perhaps the sacrifice which so many brave young Americans have made will not have been in vain.

#### FORESTRY INCENTIVES ACT OF 1973

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 93d Congress faces an unusually complex and broad challenge. The range of issues and problems demanding action by the Members of this body is immense. A sense of urgency is evident throughout—including real concern over the great need to enhance and protect our priceless natural environment.

My purpose today is to discuss an important opportunity to strengthen the Nation's forestry programs in a way which can be of immense value in the years to come. I propose follow-on legislation to the very much needed Public Law 92-288 which was enacted last year.

Prompt action and strong support by the Members of the House in the case of that multipurpose forestry program showed that many of us have a deep awareness of the vital importance of the renewable forest resources on which our Nation must rely.

It was very obvious that the highly successful cooperative wildlife protection program under the Clarke-McNary Law of 1924 should not continue to be constrained by the low dollar ceilings on Federal participation that was set many years ago. Similarly, we saw that it was time to remove the inadequate limits set more than 20 years ago on Federal participation under the Cooperative Forest Management Act of 1950. In the latter case we also recognized and met the need to broaden the scope of the law to include technical assistance in protecting and establishing trees and shrubs which are needed to enhance the environmental quality of urban areas and communities. Unanimous support by the Congress last year paved the way for urgently needed, intensified, and broadened Federal participation in funding forest

resource protection and technical assistance in forestry and related activities.

Additional legislation now is urgently needed to complement and round out cooperative forestry efforts. This is the bill I am introducing today. I am speaking of a forestry incentive program. This bill is built upon the foundation of time-tested procedures and arrangements between the U.S. Forest Service, and other Federal agencies, State forestry organizations, private landowners, and others. The bill provides renewed emphasis, a broadened scope of activities, and a positive effort toward motivating nonindustrial forest landowners to increase the flow of forest products and benefits from the management and use of the lands they control. The bill will provide a modest investment in tomorrow's forest potential.

The Members of this distinguished body need no reminder of the fact that the public spotlight is on the Nation's forest lands. Never have I seen more intense interest in what is taking place in the woods. Battle lines are drawn between those who would lock up and preserve the forest landscape intact and those who see the need to increase the flow of timber, water, wildlife, and outdoor recreation opportunities to meet the urgent and growing needs of the American citizen of today and tomorrow. To date the debate has centered on the public lands—particularly the national forests. Difficult problems exist and hard decisions must yet be made by the Congress in this regard.

But, happily, there is another side to the coin—another string to our forestry bow, if you will—the nearly 300 million acres of timberland owned by some 4 million Americans. These smaller tracts constitute 59 percent of the Nation's productive forest land base—more than three times the comparable acreage in the great national forest system. These lands already—in the aggregate—produce huge amounts of the pulpwood, sawlogs, and other timber products needed by America's growing economy. However, these small properties are producing at only a fraction of their potential—half less in terms of wood products. In terms of wildlife production, use for hunting, hiking, and other outdoor recreation activities, the fraction is probably even smaller. Natural beauty and watershed protection are examples of additional public benefits that can be substantially increased from these lands.

Protection from wildfires and adequate technical assistance to guide their efforts are now assured. There is, however, one last remaining obstacle preventing many owners of small forest properties from managing and developing their resources in a fully effectual and up-to-date manner. It is the motivation and the funds needed to make the necessary investments. Planting trees, cultural work in established stands, seeding to prevent soil erosion, creating improved wildlife habitat, providing public access for recreational use—these all cost money. Prospective dollar returns on investments to produce benefits to the public frequently are insufficient to induce the landowner to make the necessary addi-



tional expenditures. Let us not lose sight of the fact that landowners already are making sizable investments. The purchase price of the land, or income foregone that could come from sale of the land, the annual taxes, and other expenses are borne by the landowner. Frequently there just is not money left over for forest improvement. A program of financial incentives is needed to trigger the forestry investments that can result in major increases in future years in public benefits from these lands. That is what my forestry incentives bill is all about. I consider such incentives justified because the public benefits that accrue from well-tended forest land are significant.

Without going into detail regarding these public benefits let me cite just three examples. National demands for raw materials, including lumber, pulp, and other products are expected to double in the next three decades. Wood, our only renewable natural resource, can fill its share of the needed supply at less cost in energy than substitutes and thus has a lighter impact on the environment. If the supply of forest products is abundant, their relative price levels will be competitive with other materials, and this will have a favorable effect on housing and other costs. The 300 million acres of forest in private, nonindustrial lands can indeed hold the key to the adequacy of future supplies.

As another example, if we are successful in meeting an increased portion of the total timber demand through harvests on these lands, the extreme pressures now falling on public forest lands will be eased. As landowners are motivated to manage and improve the productivity of their forests there should be a significant "tradeoff" that could help achieve the more balanced use and development of the national forests that my good friends in the Forest Service, and others are seeking.

Another obvious benefit from investments is that thousands of idle or semi-idle acres of forest land can be made productive. New jobs will be created in performing the needed cultural, tree planting, and other work in the forests. Employment will be multiplied in the future as the results of this work are translated into more jobs in timber, recreation, and related industries. Rural communities and families can receive a much needed economic boost now and in the years ahead. New jobs also are important, in the stimulus to rural areas which obviously can result and which is a serious need if we are to reverse the unhealthy migration now taking place from rural areas to metropolitan areas.

The need for this proposed incentives program is well established. It has been clearly identified by the U.S. Forest Service and other Federal agencies. According to recent national inventories, millions of acres of nonindustrial private forest land needs reforestation—and almost half of the 300 million acres in these holdings need cultural treatment to improve the growth and quality of the stand and to replace diseased and defective trees. Forest industries, particularly in the South, have spelled out in detail what is needed. Many of my col-

leagues are well aware of the report "The South's Third Forest"—a comprehensive review of the current and prospective need for forestry incentives in that key region of the country. State foresters and their staff people have long urged action to motivate forest landowners toward making the necessary investments—as well as to protect their lands from wildfire and to manage the resources they have available to work with on the ground. The American Forestry Association and their cooperators in the current "Trees for People" movement are also working hard to shape and encourage a forestry incentives program. The National Association of Conservation Districts is another example of a major organization that has long recognized the need for forestry incentives.

In short these will be strong and widespread support for the approach proposed in the forestry incentives bill. Enactment of this legislation should rank in long-term significance with other milestone forestry laws. It will add to the framework of the cooperation between private, State, and Federal partners that is the hallmark of American forestry.

The essence of the "Forestry Incentives Act of 1973" is encouragement of nonindustrial forest landowners to apply forestry practices that will result in a wide range of public benefits. The primary incentive will be payments or grants of other aid toward installing forestry practices such as tree planting, cultural treatments of existing stands, soil and water conservation treatments, and treatments to improve wildlife habitat and to protect or enhance environmental quality.

State forestry conservation committees will be formed to determine needs, allocate funds by counties, and establish the level of payments appropriate for approved forestry practices installed under the act. Membership will include landowners, the State forester, the Director of the Rural Environmental Assistance program, and others. Private consultant foresters will be invited to be represented. Full use will be made of existing county agricultural stabilization and conservation committees established under section 8 of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act.

State committees may elect to allocate Federal funds available to them for cost sharing by using a bid system. If so, landowners contracting to carry out specific practices at the lowest Federal cost per acre or other unit of measure shall have first priority.

In order to safeguard Federal investments, cooperating landowners will be required to maintain the sound practices on penalty of having to refund the payments.

This act is designed and intended to complement and supplement and be coordinated fully with existing related programs. Full use will be made of private firms, agencies, and individuals available and interested in furnishing services and materials needed in the application of practices included in this program.

Mr. Speaker, the Forestry Incentives Act of 1973 is legislation that I am proud

to present for consideration by you and our colleagues in the Congress. I know that many Members share my recognition of the needs that must be met. We know that hundreds of thousands of landowners and millions of citizens are deeply interested in growing trees and doing what they can to protect and improve the natural environment. They will support the approach outlined in the Forestry Incentive Act and applaud enactment of this vital new piece of conservation legislation. I urge your consideration and welcome your support.

#### THE POW'S AND MIA'S OF PAKISTAN

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, concerned people throughout the world have expressed strong interest in the war in Indochina. Many have been critical of the fact that the United States fought back in kind after continued acts of aggression by North Vietnam. That war is winding down. It should speedily be at an end. It occurs to me that those same concerned people will do well to look elsewhere for conditions which should receive attention. There should be widespread indignation over the continued imprisonment of 92,000 Pakistanis by the Government of India more than 1 year after the cessation of hostilities. An estimated 20,000 of these are civilians including women and children, who are innocent of any war acts except the misfortune of being caught in the middle.

India is a signatory to the Geneva Convention which sets forth clearly the proper procedures for the handling and treatment of prisoners of war. India shows no compassion for these unfortunate individuals and amazingly it appears that most of the nations of the world are equally unconcerned. This includes the United States. Only Red China, of all governments, seems to have been outspoken against the policy followed by India in dealing with Pakistani prisoners of war. This makes it all the more difficult to understand why there has not been a more forceful show of interest on the part of the United States about the plight of these prisoners.

The Geneva Convention provides that prisoners taken during hostilities shall "be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of hostilities." Nowhere does the Geneva Convention allow for the retention of these prisoners and the attachment of prior condition to their release.

Hostilities between Pakistan and India ceased more than a year ago yet India has made no move to free these tens of thousands of human beings. Rather, India has followed the illegal path of attaching political terms to their release. India has told Pakistan it will hold these prisoners as hostages until such time as Pakistan extends formal recognition to the Government of Bangladesh. This is cruelty of the grossest sort.

Many of those being held in illegal bondage by India are innocent children

born in the prison camps. Yet India continues to tell these prisoners that, despite the war's end, they will be held until their country meets other conditions beyond those reached at the cessation of fighting.

It is widely reported that those being held in what amounts to political ransom, are being deprived even from sufficient food. Many of them have been shot by the Indians for alleged infractions of prison rules and regulations. Reports of inhuman torture continue to filter from behind the walls of the encampments.

There is no reason imaginable for the continuation of this practice by the Government of India. These 92,000 human beings including civilian men, women, and children, should be allowed to return to their country and their homes in peace. Surely they have suffered more than enough to satisfy the Indians.

Aside from the humanitarian aspects of this question, the issue of the prisoners of war is critical to the quest for peace on the Asian subcontinent. Logic tells us there can be no lasting peace in that troubled part of the world until and unless the Pakistanis are allowed to go free. Logic further tells us the Pakistani Government cannot bow to political blackmail.

I believe our State Department should take immediate steps individually and in company with other nations to exert influence and pressure on the Government of India to bring about the early release of these prisoners.

I include for reprinting in the RECORD a statement from the Chicago Tribune of January 17, entitled, "India Should Free Prisoners of War" and a statement from the Washington Post of January 18 entitled, "Pakistani POW's: The New Forgotten People":

[From the Chicago Tribune, Jan. 17, 1973]

#### INDIA SHOULD FREE POW'S

India, the great hair splitter, should release forthwith the 93,000 Pakistani soldiers still held as prisoners of war a year after the two nations stopped fighting each other. The Geneva Convention of 1949 states that prisoners shall be released and repatriated after the cessation of active hostilities.

India itself proclaimed a cease-fire after the fighting a year ago. A resolution voted by the United Nations Security Council stated that not only a cease-fire but "a cessation of hostilities" prevailed.

In the face of both this record and the Geneva Convention, how can India justify holding Pakistan's soldiers at all—let alone under the deplorable conditions existing?

The reason, an Indian spokesman told The Tribune's Joseph Zullo at the U.N., is that a cease-fire is "not the same as a cessation of hostilities." With respect to the new nation of Bangladesh, Pakistan is "in an attitude of hostilities in suspension."

To find a semantic difference between "cease-fire" and "cessation of hostilities" requires hair splitting of a high order of skill. To go a step farther and find a difference between a "cessation of hostilities" and a "suspension of hostilities" calls for a virtuosity in word twisting that borders on the dazzling.

It is obvious that India is holding the 93,000—along with 16,000 civilians—as diplomatic hostages. A spokesman for the New Delhi delegation told Mr. Zullo that the Pakistani forces surrendered to the "joint command" of Indian and Bangladesh forces and that their release depends on the acquiescence of Bangladesh. In other words,

Pakistan must recognize this breakaway state which has proclaimed independence with India's backing—or it can't have the POWs.

The Geneva Convention says nothing about the recognition of anyone by anyone; it says that prisoners shall be released after the shooting stops. Its intention is clear. Send the soldiers home as quickly as possible.

India is not in compliance with this convention. The stalling would be wrong no matter who engaged in it. It seems especially deplorable when a rule of international conduct is flouted by this self-appointed moral adviser to the world, which has pointed accusing fingers at so many other nations for many fancied wrongs. Here is a real wrong, and the perpetrator has turned strangely blind to the outrage of it.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 18, 1973]

#### PAKISTANI POW'S: "THE NEW FORGOTTEN PEOPLE"

North Vietnam's determination to hold American prisoners of war, now close to 600, as hostages against a truce or peace settlement has all along been a grim but accepted reality of the Vietnamese conflict and the parallel Paris negotiations. Yet, the assumption always is that these Americans would be released the moment the hostilities involving United States forces in Vietnam have ceased.

Elsewhere in Asia, however, the precept of international law that prisoners must be freed with the cessation of hostilities does not seem to apply: Pakistani military and civilian personnel are still interned by India in POW camps. They remain there today although the latest subcontinent war ended in mid-December 1971, more than 13 months ago.

For all practical purposes, the estimated 92,000 Pakistanis, including approximately 16,000 civilians, captured in the fighting over the emergence of the new state of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan), are hostages to the complex and angry politics of the subcontinent and the ever-deep distrust between India and Pakistan.

This indefinite condition of hostage for the largest number of people in foreign captivity since World War II is tacitly recognized by Indian officials for reasons they privately admit to be overwhelmingly political. Pakistan, of course, has repeatedly charged that its defeated soldiers are India's hostages. But, incredibly, only the International Committee of the Red Cross, which periodically inspects the 53 POW camps under the provisions of the two Geneva Conventions on war prisoners, has openly and insistently demanded the release of the Pakistanis.

Most of the world appears to be conveniently looking the other way, including the United States which, to say the least, was supportive of Pakistan in the 1971 war. The 92,000 Pakistanis are, then, Asia's new forgotten people: the officers and soldiers, the civilian officials and professionals, the women, the children and the babies born in the camps. This general indifference is, presumably, a reflection of the underlying political stalemate in the subcontinent engaging India and Pakistan on one level and the related interests of each of the superpowers on the other.

At this stage, when New Delhi and Washington actively seek to improve their frayed relations and the Nixon administration hopes to expand the detente with Moscow, nobody in this town is prepared to rock the precarious status quo in South Asia by raising the fate of the Pakistani POW's as a major international issue.

In fact, the United States nowadays seems to feel cooler toward Pakistan as it edges toward better ties with India. Pakistani

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, for one thing, has publicly condemned the United States Christmas bombings in North Vietnam while India kept mum. Even China, an ally of Pakistan, is singularly quiet on the subject of the POWs. Moscow is India's treaty partner and, therefore, uncritical of her. Only Romania, the Communist maverick, has expressed support for Pakistan over the prisoners.

But beyond all these power considerations there remains an array of moral, legal and political questions concerning the 92,000 captive Pakistanis.

The moral question has two aspects. One is the matter of mass atrocities committed by the West Pakistani forces in Bangladesh before and during the independence war. This is perhaps what the outside world remembers the best: The atrocities set off a wave of indignation here and elsewhere. Thus it may be understandable that Bangladesh wishes to punish through trials those responsible for the murders. But it has indicated that at most 1,500 of the Pakistanis now held in India, less than two per cent of the total, may be wanted for such trials.

This raises the obverse moral question: Is it justifiable to hold 92,000 persons indefinitely in prisoner camps (quite aside from the current controversy between India and the Red Cross over proper treatment of the prisoners, the shooting of escapees, the overcrowding of camps and so on) because a tiny minority may be guilty of war crimes? One wonders—at least for the sake of consistency—about the absence of major international outrage concerning the 92,000 captives.

The legal situation seems to be crystal clear, but this is no solace to the POWs. Article 118 of the 1949 Geneva Convention, to which both India and Pakistan are signatories (Bangladesh acceded to it last August), provides that "prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities." When the Pakistani forces capitulated on Dec. 15, 1971, the Indian Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, formally assured the Pakistani commander that "I shall abide by the provisions of the Geneva Conventions."

On Dec. 21, the United Nations Security Council noted that "a cessation of hostilities prevails." In the Simla Agreement, signed on July 3, 1972, India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and President Bhutto pledged themselves to the "establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent" and instructed their representatives to discuss outstanding problems, "including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees," before the next summit meeting.

All of the requirements for the release were thus met, but India (which 20 years ago handled the repatriation of the Korean War POWs) now invokes a host of political and security reasons for refusing to free the Pakistanis.

The first reason cited by India is that she cannot release the prisoners without consent of Bangladesh on whose territory most of them surrendered to the joint Indian-Bangladesh command. But the catch in the intricate subcontinental political game is that the Bangladesh Prime Minister, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, refuses his consent until Pakistan recognizes his new state and until he has made up his mind about the war trials.

The vicious circle in which the POWs are caught extends to Islamabad where Bhutto, fighting hard to convince his rightwing opposition that ultimately Bangladesh must be recognized, insists for his own political reasons that this must be preceded by a personal meeting between him and Mujibur. Bhutto, who released Mujibur from prison late in 1971 and probably saved his life, argues that such problems as Pakistan's responsibility for prewar external debts for projects in Bang-



ladesh should be settled prior to recognition. But Mujibur refuses to meet Bhutto before recognition.

Late last year, Pakistani diplomats at the United Nations privately asked the Indians whether New Delhi would guarantee in writing that the Bangladesh recognition would bring the POWs' release. Diplomatic reports say that the Indian reply was at best non-committal. Bhutto's letter to Mrs. Gandhi last Dec. 21, proposing a new summit, has not yet been answered and Indian diplomats here are vague as to when such a meeting might be possible.

Finally, Indian officials have begun talking about Pakistan allegedly preparing a "new round" and rearming with "massive" weapons shipments from China. Significantly, they now speak of the POWs in terms of "four-and-a-half divisions of trained troops." A senior Indian official remarked recently: "How can we let such an army go free when Pakistan is again preparing for war?"

Thirteen months after the cessation of active hostilities, the Geneva Conventions and all the precedents notwithstanding the deadlock seems unbreakable and the 92,000 hostages for an unpredictable period of time. International morality, it would appear has seen better days.

#### PEACE IS FINALLY HERE

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, peace is finally here. America's longest war is ending. We will soon be out of Vietnam. Our POW's and at least some of the MIA's will, at long last, come home, ending one of the most tragic chapters in U.S. history.

Many Americans died in Indochina. Others will always bear the scars of war. Family disruptions and the readjustment of returning veterans have been a major factor. It is time to give thanks to the Almighty that all of this is soon to be in the past. There is much to be done at home. There are adjustments to be made here, too—very important ones. But we can now concentrate on our own problems and tomorrow can be a better day for all Americans if we will it so.

Let us face the future and its problems with courage and determination to keep America the home of the free and the land of opportunity for all to seek a brighter promise.

#### ELIMINATE PRESENT DUTIES ON COPPER IMPORTS TO CURB RISING PRICE OF COPPER

(Mr. GIBBONS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing legislation I sponsored in the last Congress which is designed to curb the rising price of copper by eliminating the present duties on copper imports.

All available studies indicate that the United States will continue to be dependent on copper imports for a certain amount of the copper we need for our expanding economy.

Copper prices have been on the increase and, at a time when we are right-

fully concerned about price increases, little purpose seems to be served by a continuation of the duties on copper.

In fact, duties on copper imports were under continuous suspension from February 9, 1966, until June 30, 1972. Last year the Ways and Means Committee favorably reported a bill to continue this suspension of duties until June 30, 1973. Unfortunately, Congress did not get around to approving this bill and the copper duties were therefore reimposed on July 1 of last year.

I sincerely hope that early action will be taken on the legislation I am introducing today. I am sure that this action would be of great benefit to our economy and to the American consumer.

I am introducing two bills today. The first, which some may prefer and which is the type acted on by the committee last year, would suspend copper duties for a temporary period. The second, which is under consideration by the Department of Commerce, would eliminate these duties completely.

#### SAFE SCHOOLS ACT OF 1973

(Mr. BINGHAM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am today reintroducing for consideration by the 93d Congress the Safe Streets Act of 1973, which I originated and first introduced in 1971. I am gratified by the fact that 21 of our colleagues in the House have joined as cosponsors in introducing this proposal, including the distinguished chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, Mr. PERKINS, who was also a cosponsor in the 92d Congress.

In addition, the following Members have so far agreed to cosponsor this measure: Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. WON PAT, Ms. ABZUG, Mr. DE LUGO, Mr. NEDZI, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CORMAN, Miss HOLTZMAN, Mrs. BURKE of California, Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania, and Mr. BRASCO.

An identical bill is being introduced today in the Senate by Senator EDWARD GURNEY of Florida and Senator ALAN CRANSTON of California, and I am delighted to have their support for this proposal and the support of the other Members of the Senate who, I understand, will be cosponsoring the Senate bill.

No complete statistics on crimes against students, staff, and property in the Nation's schools are available. But in many urban areas particularly there can be little doubt that the incidence and seriousness of crimes in schools has been increasing as fast or faster than in communities generally.

Increased crime in the schools, of course, reflects conditions in the communities schools serve. But despite the particular vulnerability of the schools to crime, and the special importance of preserving civility in the schools, few resources are available to deal with school crime.

In most States, schools have not been

included in safe streets—LEAA—planning and funding. Where they have, use of those funds is heavily influenced by local police and law enforcement agencies. While cooperation between schools and law enforcement agencies is certainly desirable, control over school funds constitutes a police involvement that has traditionally been avoided. Similarly, Federal educational assistance funds administered by the Office of Education under existing school aid programs, have not been available for use specifically to deal with crime in the schools. Consequently, school officials, at best, have devised makeshift means of coping with crime. At worst, they have been forced to ignore or try to define away the problem.

The Safe Schools Act would fill this gap by establishing a new category of grants under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to enable ESEA title I school districts to develop and implement specific provisions to assure full regard for civil rights and to preserve school atmosphere—including, for example, a restriction against use of the funds for any program involving weapons in the schools.

Mr. Speaker, the General Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor held two hearings on this bill in 1971. Those hearings were conducted in New York City and in Boston, and are now in print. Action was not completed on the bill, however, and I am hopeful that the subcommittee and full committee will continue the hearings in this Congress, looking into the problem in other cities around the country, and that it will act favorably on the safe schools proposal. With the Elementary and Secondary Education Act up for review and renewal by the Congress this year, the opportunity for favorable action would appear to be at hand.

Even without Federal funding, a number of school systems are having to begin to take action to deal in a more organized and sophisticated manner with crime in the schools. I am pleased to note, for example, that in New York City it has been announced that the so-called SCAN alarm system will be installed in several schools. SCAN is a silent alarm, using a pen-size ultrasonic transmitter and a master receiver panel, that would permit teachers to give warning of danger to themselves or students. It was developed by NASA as an outgrowth of space technology, and I urged New York City school officials to install it as a deterrent to a recent wave of robberies and assaults in the New York City schools.

SCAN is just one example of what could be done in the schools to make them safer and thereby more conducive to learning. But without the kind of Federal help envisioned by the Safe Schools Act, already financially hard-pressed school systems will find it difficult if not impossible to do what can and desperately needs to be done about this problem.

Since it was first proposed, Mr. Speaker, the Safe Schools Act has attracted a great deal of attention and support. An example of the many supportive letters I have received, a sec-

tion-by-section summary of the bill, and several articles illustrating and describing various aspects of the school crime problem, follow:

#### SECTION-BY-SECTION SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS—SAFE SCHOOLS ACT OF 1973

##### Section 1. Safe Schools Act of 1973.

Section 2 states several Congressional findings. These findings include the entitlement of school children and employees to security in the schools, the necessity of safety from crime for successful learning and teaching, the particular vulnerability of the school community to crime, the need for special techniques for dealing with crime in the schools, the increasing expenditures by school districts for crime control, and the undesirability of diverting educational funds to provide safety from crime.

Section 3 sets forth the purpose of the Safe Schools Act of 1973: namely, to provide Federal financial help to local educational agencies in order to reduce and prevent crimes against school children, employees, and facilities.

Section 4 provides an open-ended authorization of funds for programs under the Act and stipulates that funds appropriated will remain available for one fiscal year beyond that for which they are appropriated. It further stipulates that no funds may be appropriated where the Office of Education has withheld any other funds from expenditure.

Section 5 sets a minimum allocation of funds to each State, and provides for allotment of 50% of all funds to the States on the basis of each State's relative incidence of crime. The other 50% of all funds remain under the jurisdiction of the Secretary (of HEW). Provision is made for reallocation of any sums the Secretary reasonably determines cannot be used by a State.

Section 6 authorizes the Secretary to make direct grants with funds remaining under his jurisdiction to local educational agencies, or in some cases other nonprofit organizations or institutions, for the development or implementation of plans to reduce school crime.

Section 7 authorizes particular activities under both State and Federal jurisdictions to carry out the purposes of the Act, and lists some general examples, including training and provision of new staff and the retraining of existing staff, provision of special student or employee services, support of community activities, repair or minor alteration of school facilities, acquisition and modernization of equipment, etc. The section provides, however, that no funds under the Act shall be used to pay for firearms, other weapons, or chemical agents in the schools.

Section 8 lists several criteria for approval of applications for assistance. These criteria include the need for assistance, degree of parent support, degree of protection provided for the civil rights of school children and employees, etc.

Section 9 specifies information and "assurances" required to be part of applications for funds. These include a public evaluation of the plan or program for which assistance is requested by a "representative group" of parents of children to be affected. Applicants must also provide assurances that State educational agencies have been consulted, that per-pupil and total educational expenditures have not and will not be reduced, and "such other information as the Secretary (of HEW.) may require." Assurance is specifically required from applicants that no discrimination will be practiced against any minority group, and that civil rights, including the right lawfully to petition or assemble to redress grievances, will not be abridged in the schools. Provision is made for joint administration of projects by more than one local educational agency.

Section 10 authorizes special grants for "model" or "demonstration" programs.

Section 11 specifies methods of payment of assistance funds.

Section 12 defines terms employed in the Act. Most importantly, crime (as used in the Act with regard to schools) is defined as "any unlawful act or activity, not including any violation of any rule, regulation, or code of behavior established by any organization, agency, or institution not enacted into law."

Section 13 provides for the use of up to 1% of the funds under the Act for evaluation of its programs and projects.

Section 14 provides for joint funding of projects by more than one Federal agency.

Section 15 establishes a twelve-member advisory council, called the National Advisory Council on Safe Schools, to review the administration and operation of the Act and make recommendations for improvement.

Section 16 requires a report on the administration and effectiveness of the Act as part of the Secretary's annual report to Congress.

LOS ANGELES CITY  
UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT,  
Los Angeles, Calif., December 20, 1972.

MR. ROGER MAJACK,

Administrative Assistant to Congressman  
Jonathan B. Bingham, 22d District, New  
York, House Post Office, Washington, D.C.

DEAR ROGER: I would like to use this means of thanking you for visiting with me on my recent trip to Washington, D.C.

Again, our district is most interested in supporting legislation the Congressman might introduce along the lines of the Safe Schools Act of 1972. Attached are materials that I think will describe our current problems to you. You might add it to your file involving the problems you are currently having with the city schools in New York.

I would appreciate your keeping me informed as to ways that I might participate in supporting the Congressman's efforts.

The next time I am in Washington, I will drop by to see you in order to bring you up-to-date.

Best regards,

WILLIAM L. LUCAS.

[From Women's World Detroit, Mich.,  
Nov. 15, 1972]

#### CRIME IN THE CLASSROOM (By Barton Reppert)

NEW YORK.—Mrs. Benney Boswell's third graders were jotting down their homework assignment when the slender young man entered the classroom. He walked slowly toward the teacher. One hand held a plastic bookbag; the other was jammed in his jacket pocket.

Mrs. Boswell looked up expecting an inquiry. There was none. "Please check in at the principal's office," she told the youth politely. His reply was calm but:

"There are a lot of children in your class. Walk behind your desk and sit down. If you move I'll blow your brains out."

Quickly, the man, who was about 20, dumped the books from the plastic bag, replaced them with the teacher's purse and fled.

It was over in moments and the terrified Mrs. Boswell of Public School 161 in Harlem had become one of 15 teachers robbed during a two-week period in New York City Schools last month. Most of the incidents happened in full view of school children; the takes ranged from \$1 cash to \$3,000 in jewelry.

The sudden upsurge of robberies against teachers—two were reported in September—has provoked cries of outrage from city officials, teachers and parents alike and demands for intensified security in the schools.

"We were positively terrified," said a 27-year-old woman teacher, recalling how she and a colleague were robbed while they lunched in a classroom at another Manhattan school. "If there were a policeman

around the school building all the time we would feel better."

The teachers are plainly angry and calling for strong action. During a meeting at Richmond Hill High School in Queens, where a teacher fought off two teen-aged robbers, one teacher drew cheers with a declaration it was time "to knock heads, make arrests, get rid of the garbage."

They have been joined by their union, the United Federation of Teachers.

"Elementary schools are like candy boxes—easy to get into and full of goodies," said Edward Muri, a member of a special joint UFT-Board of Education team studying school disruptions.

While high schools and junior highs now have a 400-man security force, the system's 650 primary schools generally have relied on makeshift security arrangements, with teachers, school aides and parent volunteers—nearly all women—assigned to check in visitors, supervise lunchrooms and patrol entrances.

In response, the school system has accelerated steps to hire and train 1,200 unarmed security aides, at a cost of \$6 million, for assignment mainly to elementary schools.

School authorities also are seriously considering the use of color-coded photo identification cards to help weed out intruders, as well as the issuing to teachers of pocket-sized silent alarm devices initially developed for an experimental electronic security system at a Sacramento, Calif., high school.

The New York City school system has long been plagued by such incidents as corridor shakedowns, gang fights, rapes and knifings. And it is not the only major American city facing the problem. But because of its size—1.2 million pupils—its problems are perhaps more glaring.

Board of Education files show that the total of "untoward incidents," as school officials prefer to call them, increased from 333 during the 1970 calendar year to 580 in 1971. Through September of this year, there were 642 reported incidents.

Factors contributing to the apparent rise in school crime, school officials say, include widespread drug trafficking, a resurgence of youth gangs, proliferation of weapons—particularly handguns—among students, and lack of enough alternate facilities to handle unmotivated, uncooperative, potentially disruptive pupils.

Also aggravating the situation is a truancy rate of about 60,000 students a day, with many incidents blamed on truants barging into other schools to victimize younger pupils.

Officials say the general trend of school violence within the past three years has shifted away from outbreaks during group confrontations—over student demands for black and Puerto Rican-oriented courses, a stronger voice in school affairs and other reforms—toward an increase in individual, often vicious assaults, usually student against student.

Roughly 80 to 85 per cent of the reported incidents occur in high schools and junior highs. But the board's records indicate that conditions at some elementary schools are not always placid. Teachers have been robbed, assaulted by pupils and beaten by angry parents.

Officials in several other large cities indicated serious concern over school security, but said teachers had not been faced with classroom holdups comparable to the series in New York this month.

In Philadelphia, Frank Sullivan, the teachers union president, said: "There have been instances of people coming in from the outside and either threatening or harming a teacher. But I don't recall robbery as a motive."

"We don't have anything like the New York situation and I certainly hope it doesn't spread," he said.



Authorities in Washington said school violence has subsided.

"We still have problems but the situation has changed drastically," said William Simmons, president of the Washington teachers union. "We only rarely have to call police into the schools."

In Los Angeles, the Board of Education, reacting to a rash of incidents this year involving weapons, recently passed a resolution authorizing administrators to suspend and even expel students found carrying deadly weapons in or around schools. The upsurge of incidents, according to a board spokesman, appeared to stem from increased friction among youth gangs.

[From the Long Branch (N.J.) Daily Record, May 18, 1972]

#### SAFETY AT SCHOOL CONCERNS PARENTS

LONG BRANCH.—The safety of children in the Long Branch school system was called a "grave situation" during a spirited debate at a Board of Education meeting.

Reports of teachers being attacked by students, students assaulting and brutally beating up one another while arriving and leaving school, in classrooms, lavatories, hallways, stairways and the playground were made known.

Parents of assaulted children or representatives sent by parents who fear reprisals for their children appeared before the board to request that the schools be made a safer place for children to learn.

Frederick Errico, representative of the North End Community Council and a spokesman for two parents whose children were assaulted said, "Judges have let the situation go too far by letting children go free with no admonition; teachers have not exercised the proper authority; parents have not done their duty."

He added, "Schools, churches, the police department, and parents—leave the liberals out—and get together and do something before someone is killed."

Errico offered to represent parents wishing to make known any incident in which their children were accosted.

Board President Seymour Greenspan said he met with the Mayor and City Council asking for assistance.

He has requested and received permission from Mayor Cioffi to provide police protection during the arrival and departure of the students and noted that, "If we need uniformed and armed guards on watch, then we will have them."

He enumerated measures enacted in the school to protect the safety of the children:

There are corridor aides and guards within the halls of the school.

Staggered sessions have gone into effect and lunch periods have been reduced to prevent time for loitering.

Disciplinary action has been taken toward the instigators in assaults.

Additional study programs have been instituted to offer more educational inspiration to students.

Although these steps have been effected to prevent further outbreaks, Greenspan feels that, "apparently they are not adequate."

He urged that all incidents be reported to a teacher, principal, superintendent or board member so that prompt action may be taken.

He added that informants will remain anonymous so that children will not be reprimanded by other students for reporting the incident.

Greenspan said, "There's a part for everyone of this community in this issue and we all have to play our part."

He called for united action to solve the problem and expressed hope that all parents would get together and discuss the problem at hand.

Greenspan pointed out that this is not just a problem in the school. "It is a problem with parent-children relationship, teacher-students relationship. It is a whole city problem, a court problem, and as a result, a school problem, he said.

Agreeing with the president was a resident who wishes to remain unknown. He said, "It stems from a too free life; a too easy life for children today."

"But the problem at hand is in the realm of the Long Branch school system which must be dealt with now, suggested the parents."

They said they will make known all incidents which threaten their children's safety and Greenspan said, "We will do everything we can."

[From the Los Angeles Times, Nov. 21, 1972]  
SCHOOL VIOLENCE MUST BE HALTED, RILES SAYS—SOME CAMPUSES IN STATE HAVE BEEN TURNED INTO "HALLWAYS OF FEAR," OFFICIAL REPORTS

(By Jack McCurdy)

Some California schools have become "hallways of fear" and must be rid of an increasing tide of violence, state School Supt. Wilson Riles told 200 persons at a conference on school tensions here Monday.

The meeting called by Riles was held in conjunction with his task force on school violence, which had been appointed previously to find ways to reduce conflicts on school campuses.

Assembled at the Naval and Marine Reserve Center for the conference were student representatives, police officials, school administrators and community workers.

Riles said the problem of attacks on teachers and students is not limited to any geographical area or ethnic group.

He said he doubted that recent campus violence is a revival of the "blackboard jungle" atmosphere in New York schools 20 years ago, but added, "I'm not willing to wait around and find out."

Riles said his task force will meet with other groups around the state and report to him within six months on recommendations ranging from possible legislation to new programs in the state Department of Education, which he heads.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Oct. 11, 1972]  
SCHOOL BOARD EXPECTED TO OK TOUGH NEW GUN CONTROL RULES—PRINCIPALS WILL BE ENCOURAGED TO CONSIDER SUSPENSION OF ANY STUDENT FOUND CARRYING WEAPONS ON CAMPUS

(By Jack McCurdy)

When students come to school armed with handguns in the Los Angeles district, they might be suspended. But then again, they might not.

That has been the unwritten policy—to deal with gun possession in the way which seemed most effective to school people on the spot.

Now, under a tough new policy expected to be adopted by the Board of Education Thursday, principals will be encouraged to seriously consider swift suspension—followed by possible expulsion—when students are discovered carrying weapons on campuses.

"Our thinking changed," said Associate Supt. Jerry Halverson, "because of the tremendous increase in possession of guns at schools."

Incidents involving guns at schools jumped more than 100% this year, he said.

Principals will still exercise their own judgments, but alarm is in the air and the message is clear: crack down in hopes of curbing a dangerously violent trend in the Los Angeles schools.

Police and school officials agree that the upsurge of campus trouble is the spillover of increased "gang" activity in communities

surrounding schools, particularly in the predominantly black South-Central Los Angeles area.

One parent reportedly told a school official that she encouraged her child to carry a weapon as protection against threats from gangs.

The increase in gang warfare has been building for nearly two years, but there is no clear indication why it is moving on to school campuses at this moment, Sheriff's Lt. Kenneth Smith said.

"There's not just more gang violence but a large increase in the severity of assault—more killings," said Smith, commander of a special unit which deals with juvenile gangs.

A 16-year-old boy was slain near Locke High School Monday and three suspects were later arrested at the school, 325 E. 111th St., after a car containing the dead youth's assailants was reportedly seen by witnesses turning into the school parking lot.

It was the third slaying attributed to gang activity in a four-day period in the area.

Halverson said the new policy on gun possession was recommended to the school board after a sampling of city schools showed an increase of more than 100% in incidents of students carrying weapons.

Supt. Johnston told the board Monday that there were 83 such incidents between last February and June, compared with 40 just since school started Sept. 12.

Exact figures comparing like periods for 1971 and 1972 will be available in a few days, Halverson said.

The 1971-72 school year was the first in which the district has kept records on such activities, he said.

There were 280 reports of assaults with deadly weapons on campuses, including 125 involving students against students, 95 of students against teachers and 44 of students against security officers or police.

Among these, 17 involved the use of guns—15 against students and two against teachers.

School officials felt this was not too bad considering there are 131 junior and senior high schools and a grand total of 625 schools in the district.

"Gun statistics were not very high and what we were doing last year seemed to fit the needs of individual schools and students," Halverson said.

"We didn't have an upsurge and where the need was obvious to call police and remove a student, that was done."

But the sudden jump in incidents caused a rethinking.

"We found (in discussions with principals) that in many cases where guns or other weapons were carried on campuses, there were no suspensions or expulsions," he said.

Principals, Halverson explained, felt in many instances they could best handle an individual problem through parents or counseling, rather than the more severe penalty of suspension.

"Where there was a case of a youngster found with a knife or some other weapon for the first time," he continued, "it was not the feeling that we had to take as strong a measure as we intend now, simply because there was no great use of the weapon."

But in view of what Halverson called a "tremendous increase in gun possession with an apparent increase in use," Johnston and school board members "felt we had better nail down a tougher policy."

Halverson said "we felt we really had to do something."

He said school officials hope "the crack-down will filter to parents and students." The new policy is as much for their consumption as for local school people, he added.

Lt. Smith said it is difficult to tell just how much gang activity has increased because police do not receive reports of all

incidents, either from private persons or schools.

He said that while a number of semipermanent, organized gangs do operate in the area, much of the violence is carried out by small groups of youth which form up only on occasion and then disband.

The severity of the problem, however, is due largely to wider use of factory-made guns, rather than weapons such as "zip guns."

The proposed new school policy states the possession of any deadly weapon described in the state Penal Code on school campuses "constitutes a threat of violence" and "is the basis for immediate suspension and a request (by school officials) for expulsion" by the board.

[From the San Francisco Progress, Nov. 1, 1972]

#### NO READY ANSWERS ON SCHOOL VIOLENCE (By Carol Pogash)

San Francisco's school administrators are appalled by the series of student stabbings that have occurred in the junior and senior high schools over the last several weeks, but, they say, they're not too sure what they can do about them.

More supervision? Every incident in recent weeks has occurred under close adult supervision.

Policing? The police have been commended for the cooperation and their immediate response. But no school administrator has proposed a cop for every school or a system of daily frisks.

Punishment? Well, maybe. At the Nov. 14 School Board meeting Superintendent Steven Morena is expected to ask for the expulsion of six students involved in various acts of violence over the last few weeks. (Only one student was expelled last year.)

But Morena who says he is "deeply distressed" by the latest rash of incidents, is quick to admit that he has no airtight solution to the problem.

Within a period of two weeks one student was killed by another student (a friend) at Woodrow Wilson High School; four students were stabbed by other students at Lowell High School; one student was stabbed by another at Luther Burbank Junior High; and two old-fashioned fights at Everett Junior High and at Lincoln High School both resulted in serious injury to students.

One incident began over a domino game lost to a girl. The teasing ended in death. Another began as a racial argument between two boys. Several days later four students were stabbed.

School administrators say the incidents are unrelated. And by all accounts they are right. But the incidents do have certain factors in common.

All occurred under close supervision either on the school playground, in the cafeteria or just outside the classroom.

Two of the incidents were preceded by counseling sessions the day before and were thought to have been settled.

All incidents occurred in isolation and thus far have not resulted in any continued feuding.

Not one racial group can be singled out. The incidents involved whites, blacks, Filipinos and a Latino. Although at Lowell and Luther Burbank, Filipino students stabbed students of other races.

Most of the incidents were the culmination of verbal arguments lasting over several days.

All five incidents involved boys between the ages of 14 and 18 (although one girl will be recommended for expulsion for carrying a loaded gun to school).

The schools where the incidents occurred quickly returned to normalcy.

Neither Morena nor any other school administrator is sure why the old fashioned

fight has been escalated to knife stabbing.

But, according to Robert Figone, the man in charge of the students after they have committed acts of violence, "Things are no worse this year than they were last year."

In fact, the students interviewed at Woodrow Wilson say things have gotten a lot better. In the last year, they say, school spirit has grown and a conscientious principal has made them feel closer to the administration of their school.

Asked whether they think the incidents have racial overtones, the students at Wilson give an emphatic no.

"It was just one incident here of black against black. It's not going to happen again," one black teenager replied.

At Lowell the comments were less reassuring. Every student questioned believed the incident at Lowell did have racial overtones.

"It didn't begin that way. But a guy brings his friends into the conflict and eventually it gets to be a racial dispute," said one young student.

Do Lowell students expect another incident? "No," said one student, who added, "Remember, this is Lowell." School spirit at Lowell never has been a problem.

Asked why the old time solution of a fist fight and bloody nose no longer will suffice, the Lowell students had varying responses. Said one June graduate, who observed the school from his yellow sports car parked just outside, "Guys don't want to lose a fight. With knives you know you can't lose."

Commented one Chinese girl, "Killing doesn't seem so bad any more. The same violence that goes on outside school now is carried into school." Said another thoughtful girl on her way home, "Television violence is to blame. My brother's been watching a lot of TV and now he's got an admiration for switch blades."

At Lowell, as well as at Woodrow Wilson, students say they are disturbed by the incidents but believe they are no more than isolated happenings. And by early this week, students at both schools said they had all but forgotten the violent stabbings at their schools that occurred barely two weeks ago.

[From Parade magazine, Sept. 24, 1972]

#### THE YOUNG VANDALS WHO ARE WRECKING OUR SCHOOLS (by Margo Tupper)

It's a cool spring morning of a school holiday in a quiet Maryland suburb. Johnny, a blue-eyed, blond 6-year-old, rises from the breakfast table and tells his mother that he's going to the playground. In her bedroom he finds a pair of nylon stockings, which he stuffs into his pockets. Next, he takes a pair of wire clippers and a hammer from the basement, and puts them inside his jacket.

#### BREAKS WINDOW

Johnny walks purposefully to his school and pauses near a low window at the back of the building. He hurls his hammer at the window, and the glass shatters. Slipping the stocking onto his hands to prevent fingerprints, he climbs through the jagged hole.

He uses the clippers to shear a wire on the school alarm box. Then he skips upstairs to the library, where he scatters books, empties files, tears index cards, and smashes phonograph records. With his hammer he batters desks, chairs and typewriters.

But the cut wire did not put the alarm out of order. When Johnny leaves the building, he is met by a security officer, who summons the boy's mother. Since he is too young to be charged with an offense, his mother takes him home.

Johnny is not an isolated case. All over the country, school vandalism by very young children is on the rise. Many of the culprits come from affluent families. "It seems

that the better the schools, the more vandalism occurs," sighs Roy Hostetter, security supervisor for the Montgomery County, Md., school system.

#### LOSS IN MILLIONS

It's impossible to say just how much money school vandalism costs the American taxpayer each year, but informed estimates range from 200 to 500 million dollars. Even these staggering figures are probably on the low side, because so many episodes go unreported. And they don't take into account indirect costs, resulting from time lost from school, or skyrocketing insurance rates.

Small children who smash school property for a lark are often more destructive than older youngsters who steal for resale. Here are some examples of what pre-teenaged vandals have done:

Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. Two brothers, aged 9 and 11, entered a brand-new, \$2.2 million junior high school. Armed with a golf club and a long, single-edged hunting knife, they smashed windows, slashed upholstery, and battered and overturned typewriters and business equipment. They also sprayed walls, furniture and musical instruments with fire extinguishers and paint. Asked why they had done it, one replied: "Just for something to do."

Washington, D.C. Three boys—two aged 6 and 7—broke into Parkland Day Care Center on three successive weekends. They killed rabbits, hamsters and guinea pigs, splashed paint on walls and furniture, and opened food, which they threw on the floor or simply left to spoil. Later, they returned with their mothers and helped clean up the mess.

Wichita, Kans. Three children, aged 5, 6 and 12, broke into their school by forcing a lock and set a fire resulting in \$4000 worth of damage. Ten days later the same trio set another fire in a different part of the building. The damage this time: \$6000.

Houston, Tex. Children forced their way into the Sherman Elementary School and wrecked the kindergarten rooms by throwing paint, breaking toys and play equipment and smashing the television set. At nearby Sharpstown Elementary School, youthful vandals weren't content with breaking nearly every window in the building. Afterward, they set the school on fire.

Not only is vandalism on the increase, but more and more of the vandals are girls. The reason, according to a recent report by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, may be "their changing attitude toward society and society's changing attitude toward them. Instead of the passive role assumed by girls in the past and society's protective role toward them, girls are becoming more aggressive and more independent." In Cincinnati, Ohio, for instance, a girl student started a fire in a storage closet at Burdette Elementary School, causing \$100,000 in damage and shutting the school down for a month. "We have over 100 public schools in Cincinnati," laments school security chief Frank G. Bornhoffe. "Records show that not one has escaped damage from vandalism."

What can be done about the problem?

#### PREVENTIVE STEPS

Several communities have launched anti-vandalism campaigns. In Compton, Los Angeles, where vandals destroyed \$350,000 worth of school property during the past fiscal year, officials have set up a special phone number for reporting youthful culprits to the police without fear of reprisal. In hard-hit Flint, Mich., the Mott Foundation joined with the Board of Education to create a Police School Cadet Program, whereby potential troublemakers—underachievers, children from broken homes, disruptive pupils—are encouraged to meet policemen and learn about law enforcement. The program, which is part of a "community school concept" fashioned by the Foundation and the Board of Education, is credited with



reducing substantially the incidence of juvenile delinquency among pre-teens.

Another approach is to design the schools differently. Nationally known school architect Stanley Arthur reports that some cities are asking for windowless school buildings, although these have been criticized for creating a penal atmosphere. A few schools, Arthur says, are considering installing indestructible iron toilets, of the kind used in many prisons. Toilets are a favorite target of young vandals, who wrench them from their moorings, or set fire to the seats.

#### FEDERAL FUNDS ASKED

In Congress, Rep. Jonathan B. Bingham (D., N.Y.) has introduced legislation to "assist school districts reduce crime against children, employees, and facilities in the elementary and secondary schools by providing financial assistance for the development and implementation of locally approved school security plans." Bingham's own district has experienced its share of vandalism. Earlier this year, youthful arsonists set a \$200,000 fire in P.S. 3 in the Bronx, and then, while the building was being repaired, set a second fire which cost \$20,000 more.

Most important of all, perhaps, is the need to awaken the public to the dimensions of the crisis. "Vandalism is not recognized by the majority of school officials as a problem," complains James A. F. Kelley, assistant director of the International Association of Police Chiefs. "Schools must learn to approach the situation in a realistic manner and not hide the facts. They should let the community, parent groups, police and Congress know just how serious vandalism has become."

Above all, experts agree, we must stop viewing vandalism as childish prankishness. Kid stuff it's not.

#### CEASE-FIRE IN VIETNAM

(Mr. BINGHAM asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, we are all thankful that there is to be a cease-fire in Vietnam and that our long-suffering prisoners of war are to be released and brought home. We rejoice with them and with their families. And we rejoice with the people of Vietnam, North and South, that at long last, after many years of agony, the shooting and the bombing, the killing and the maiming will stop.

We must also compliment Dr. Henry Kissinger and his negotiating team, along with their counterparts from North Vietnam, for the skillful and ingenious way in which they have solved a great many difficulties. Some of the solutions are reminiscent of the world of "Alice in Wonderland," but never mind. The important thing is that innumerable difficulties have been overcome.

But in our euphoria, let us not blind ourselves to the fact that the agreements leave many questions unanswered. The biggest question is, what happens if the agreements break down and fighting resumes in South Vietnam?

My own judgment is that this will not happen during the period immediately ahead. Because it is clearly in the interest of Hanoi that all American forces be withdrawn from Vietnam, I believe Hanoi will meticulously fulfill its obligation to release American POW's and to provide the required accounting for the missing in action.

I profoundly hope that the remainder of the agreement will be carried out, that the internationally supervised cease-fire will hold for as long as necessary, that the Vietnamese parties will be able to reach agreement on the anticipated elections, and that these elections will be held and will lead to true reconciliation between the Vietnamese parties that have been warring for so long.

If these things do happen, I hope that the U.S. Government will provide generous assistance to the Vietnamese, North and South, to help them rebuild their country and bind up the wounds. President Nixon, both directly and through his spokesman, has indicated that this is his intention, as it was the late President Johnson's, and I hope that the Congress will recognize and implement our country's obligations in this regard.

But I must concede that I am profoundly pessimistic as to the future of Vietnam beyond the 60-day period for withdrawal of U.S. forces and release of prisoners.

It seems to me almost inconceivable that opposing parties in Vietnam will be able to agree on the procedure for the proposed elections, or even on the purpose of such elections. With South Vietnam fragmented into scores of areas occupied and controlled by hostile forces, I foresee gradually increasing violence. At some point, whether it be 3 months from now, or 6 months, or a year or 2 years, I am afraid there will be full-scale fighting again, and the agreement will have broken down.

There were ominous overtones in the President's address last night suggesting that the United States intended to police the agreement, to "see to it," as he said, that the agreement was carried out.

Let us face it, there is only one way for the United States to police the agreement, and that is by being prepared to send its forces back into Indochina and its planes back to the bombing runs.

This, I am convinced, the American people do not want. And I believe the Congress must take steps to see that it does not happen.

What, it may well be asked, will be the result if the agreement breaks down and the United States does not intervene? The answer is clear: It will then be up to the Vietnamese, all of them, to work out their own problems. And that is what we should have allowed them to do many years, and many thousands of lives, ago.

#### TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE HONORABLE CARL ALBERT, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND CONGRESSMAN LESTER WOLFF

(Mr. BRADEMAS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I believe that one of the most important contributions to the current discussion of the respective roles of the President and the Congress is to be found in a recent interview between the Honorable CARL

ALBERT, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and our colleague Congressman LESTER WOLFF.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include at this point in the RECORD the transcript of this interview, in order that it might be available to all of the Members.

#### TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW

From the television studios of the United States House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., this is "Ask Congress." And this is the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Carl Albert, who is beginning his second term as Speaker of the House. And I'm Congressman Lester Wolff of New York. "Ask Congress" is a public affairs program designed to bring you, the viewer, a close-up look at our country's legislators as they discuss the issues that are of vital concern to every American. Today we are indeed privileged to welcome the Speaker of the House to our show. Speaker Albert has served in the Congress since 1947. And prior to his election as Speaker two years ago, he served as the Majority Whip and the Majority Leader. Today we will be talking with the Speaker about his plans for the 93rd Congress . . . including his views on Congressional Reform, the Impounding of funds by the Executive, and the reassertion of Congressional authority.

#### A MANDATE FOR A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS

Speaker Albert, it's indeed a pleasure to have you here on "Ask Congress" today.

The SPEAKER. Thank you Congressman Wolff, it is a pleasure to be with you.

Rep. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon received an overwhelming vote from the American people, yet they re-elected a Democratic Congress. Do you consider this a mandate to the Congress?

The SPEAKER. Yes I do—to this extent—I believe that the programs that the Congress put through in the last Congress and the preceding Congress (a Democratic Congress), are in line with the thinking of most Congressional districts. I campaigned in 17 Congressional districts just 2 weeks before the election, and most of the Members for whom I campaigned—some of them new Members—were elected. There was no question but what there was a feeling that they should be elected. The people separated for the first time in Congressional and Presidential races.

Rep. WOLFF. Most people split their vote.

The SPEAKER. I think we have a mandate to go ahead with a progressive program here in the House.

Rep. WOLFF. It's been said, Mr. Speaker, that the President intends to virtually emasculate all those programs of the previous Democratic Congress. Will you permit something like this to occur?

The SPEAKER. Not if I can prevent it. I think that we are heading toward a Constitutional crisis in this regard. Already, we are seeing states joining together. The State of Missouri, for instance, has filed a lawsuit in the impounding of highway funds. School funds have been impounded. Health funds have been impounded. The President pocket-vetted a \$30 billion HEW bill. We have all sorts of things—we had \$10 billion impounded when we started the fiscal year. We passed an \$18 billion water purification act. He impounded \$6 billion of the funds from that bill after we had overridden his veto. So, I think we are headed for a real crisis.

Rep. WOLFF. A question that has been sent to "Ask Congress" that I'd like to pass on to you relates to this. This person says, "There has been a great deal of comment of late that Congress has become the 'unequal branch' of the federal government, and that the President has usurped many of the powers that were ordained in the Constitution to be handled by the Congress. Do you agree

with this criticism? And if you do, will there be any action in the Congress to regain some of that power—and in what areas?

#### VOCATION OF THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The SPEAKER. Well, of course, I think the spirit of the Constitution has certainly been violated by the Administration. I have served with several Presidents, and I have noticed a tendency on the part of several of them to try to build up the presidency even though most of them have served in the Congress prior to going to the White House. This to me is a strange phenomenon. President Nixon is one of those. He is trying to concentrate all the power—not in his cabinet which has been set up by the Congress and pursuant to provisions in the Constitution—but in a shadow Cabinet, a little White House Cabinet, a few little people. Just ask anybody in the street. How many people know Henry Kissinger compared to Bill Rogers, the Secretary of State. I'll bet you twenty times as many people recognize the name of the President's Personal Foreign Affairs Advisor as recognize the name of the Secretary of State, which is the oldest and most famous of the Cabinet positions.

Rep. WOLFF. And these people; many of them do not require Congressional or Senate approval.

#### ABUSE OF EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

The SPEAKER. They don't require any. No. And you can't call them in. They won't come. The President will claim his immunity if you call in these people who are his personal aides.

Rep. WOLFF. What about this question of Executive privilege. I know that in our committee we have tried to get various people from the Administration to appear before our committee. We tried to get Mr. Kissinger on our Foreign Affairs Committee as you know, and we weren't able to. We got him to come to an informal breakfast. Do you think Congress will move to either force the appearance of various people or in some way move to gain information which it does not have at the present time?

The SPEAKER. Yes, I do. A lot of thought is being given to the subject of making it a violation of the law for individuals not to appear on a Congressional summons. Whether that will stand the tests of the courts or not, that will have to be seen. I don't know.

Rep. WOLFF. Well, wouldn't our subpoena power give us the opportunity of calling in these people?

The SPEAKER. Well, we can try it. Yes, I would think so, and I think that we may have to do that. After all, what good does it do if we are going to legislate the authority for say the State Department or any other Department of government. Here you've got a super cabinet and you've got a shadow cabinet—that's what it amounts to. And what good does it do if we don't get the information from those who really have the basic information and the basic contact with the President and the basic authority.

Rep. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, there have been people that have been critical of the idea that this Congress, just because of the fact that this is a Republican President and the Congress is a Democratic Congress, has come into a head-long clash with the President on political lines alone. Would you think that's true?

The SPEAKER. No, I don't think that's true. I think a trend started in the Roosevelt Administration that has carried on the building up of the Executive because of emergencies. We've had one emergency after another starting with the Depression. We've had three wars, and emergencies tend to build up the presidency. And I'd like to add this about the presidency. The American presidency is the nearest thing we have to inheriting the monarchy from England. We were a country that was under a monarch. We looked to one

man through the generations. All of our ancestors had. So here we come along.

The President really is the Chief Executive of the country and the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. And he's a coequal branch of the government. But what actually has happened—and the press and the media are partly responsible for this; and the people's heritage is partly responsible for this—he is looked on as the nation's leader as the one man in the country who should have all the power. It's amazing. It doesn't matter who the President is, how strong he is, he's going to be number one to the average citizen.

Rep. WOLFF. There was talk, Mr. Speaker, that this Senate might try to end the emergency powers that have been given to the President. Do you think there is any chance of that?

The SPEAKER. I think there is a chance of it. I think there's a better chance in the Senate than in the House.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

Rep. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, every time the Congress gets organized it seems to take an almost inordinate amount of time. Why is it that it takes so long for the Congress to get organized in a new session?

The SPEAKER. Well, first of all, I think you have to divide the sessions into different types. Every first session is more difficult to organize than the second session. The second session is just a continuation of the first session; so next year there will be no problem comparatively. Then, the Presidential Inauguration Year throws a lot of additional duties in, and a lot of extra time has to be spent by Members of Congress. We've got all of that this year. We had to count the electoral votes, we've got the inauguration coming, we've got the State of the Union Message coming up. We have all of these things which take the time of the leadership and the time of other Members of Congress. Then we've got more retirements than we have had in some Congresses this time.

That starts a musical chair operation on everything from the assignment of rooms to the Committee assignments. Now that we have activated the Caucus, something we have done within the last 2 or 3 terms of Congress, we have to have an extra meeting on everything. We have to have a Caucus as well as a Floor meeting. And on the Committee assignment operation, now they've added the leadership to that and given that responsibility along with the Committee on Committees to the leadership and the Ways and Means Committee. We have to have meetings to assign Members.

These have to be approved by Caucus. Then they have to be approved by the House. It just takes a long time. Sometimes you have individuals to deal with. You have some people who have authority over a certain area under the rules or the practices or given to them by the Caucus, and that individual just doesn't happen to move as fast as the leadership wants him to. That's one of the things. New Members come in—with housing, etc., they have their problems. There are all sorts of things to deal with.

Rep. WOLFF. That doesn't mean that the Congress stops, however. You continue to work.

The SPEAKER. The Congress is busy. I've never been busier. I won't be any busier any time this year than I've been since we've met.

#### LEGISLATION IN THE 93D CONGRESS

Rep. WOLFF. I can imagine, Mr. Speaker, that in your position, you certainly would be, Mr. Speaker, what legislation are you likely to consider first in the 93rd Congress?

The SPEAKER. Well first I'd like to say one thing because it relates back. I have recommended, and a resolution has been introduced, to study the Committees. This is not

legislation, but it is in the nature of legislation. Our Committees haven't been studied since 1946. So, I am going to ask that that be done. Now we have mandatory legislation. There's nothing we can do about it.

We've got to take certain bills up. One is the HEW Appropriation Bill. It was vetoed. It's \$30 billion. It's got Health, Education, Welfare, and it's got nearly half of the civilian budget in that one bill. And it expires February 28. We've got other bills that expire at that time, so we've got to take those bills up first. And then we have a number of bills that expire on June 30 that we have to take up before then—like the Debt Limit. We have to raise the debt limit.

The Temporary Debt Limit is \$465 billion, the permanent is \$400 billion, so we have to get it back up or we won't have money to operate. We cannot cut back the deficit from \$465 to \$400 billion the next 2 or 3 months. And we have the highway bill which was bogged down and a number of others. Most of what we will be doing early in the session, between now and say April, is passing bills that are expiring that are big bills . . . Appropriation Bills. Elementary and Secondary Education expires July 30 of this year. If we don't pass a bill between now and then we have a flop over bill for next year, but then we're out of business. With President Nixon in the White House and his attitude toward these things, Lord only knows what will happen to these programs.

Rep. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the President has been critical of the Congress for over-spending. And he says that this is the one area where there's going to be a great conflict. Do you feel that the Congress has been over-spending, or has it been a mis-direction . . .

The SPEAKER. Let me tell you this. There hasn't been a year since President Nixon has been in office that the Congress hasn't appropriated less money than he has asked for. We give him less than what he asks for. He spends all the money that is spent. The Congress spends very little. We only spend the money that we use to operate the Hill; which is just a drop in the bucket of the total amount of money spent by the federal government.

The trouble is that he spends the money where he wants to spend it, over-spends it where he wants to spend it, and he impounds money that we think is necessary. It's not a difference in expenditure, it's a difference in priorities that has caused him to criticize the Congress. He thinks if we spend what we think we ought to spend on Education that we're over spending. We appropriate it, but he doesn't spend it. Who's doing the spending? We don't spend money.

Rep. WOLFF. Where do you think our priorities for this Congress lay?

The SPEAKER. Well, I think the top priority from the standpoint of the long pull is to try to re-establish the position of the House and the Senate—the Congress—in the government, because I think every other problem hinges on how effectively we are able to do that job. Of course, you have people who for political reasons are going to go with the President on that issue right here in the House and in the Senate. I think that is top priority item as a job we've got to do. I think we've got to put our own house in order. And we've done some things along that line and are doing more. We're going to do more. We are still living in the pre-World War II days in a lot of areas of Congressional Operation and we ought to take a look.

That's why I have said that we are trying to get a committee set up, and why the Caucus is looking into various aspects. The Hansen Ad Hoc Committee and others are looking into these things. Then I think priorities should go to those things that affect the American people. I personally put a top priority on health and education of our people. I think we've sadly neglected housing, and I think housing and a lack of adequate



housing programs—we didn't get a housing bill last year, this is a major thing—all of these things lead to other problems such as race problems and things that could be solved if they were properly taken care of in advance.

Rep. WOLFF. As someone who comes from not an urban area, particularly, you have mentioned many of the urban problems. Does that mean that there's going to be direct emphasis. . . .

The SPEAKER. These are national problems. Any problem that affects New York City affects Oklahoma. Any problem that affects Agriculture affects New York City, the price of food and the quantity of food. And this is a single country. More single than it ever was because our communication, our transportation, all of those things have changed the nature of this country. Whether you live in a city, whether you live in a suburb, whether you live in town, whether you're a rural area resident, you are a part of the same country. And you're close enough to the rest of it to get there within a matter of hours.

Rep. WOLFF. Do you foresee any tax reform legislation in this session?

The SPEAKER. Yes, I do. The first order of major business the Ways and Means Committee has announced they will consider is tax reform. I hope we do get a tax reform bill. I think there is some difference between the Administration and the Committee as to whether that should take priority over trade reform, but I think tax reform is the first item. I doubt if we'll have a tax increase bill this year unless the budget gets out of balance quite a bit more than it is.

Rep. WOLFF. Do you expect that the minimum wage will be raised this year?

The SPEAKER. Yes, I think it will. It would have been raised last year, but we got tied up into a situation where the House passed one bill and the Senate passed another bill, then some of the Members announced that they were going to take the Senate bill, and the House started instructing, and we got bogged down in the differences between the authors of the bill in the House and their own desire actually to pass the Senate bill. I don't know which bill we'll pass, but we will raise the minimum wage this year.

Rep. WOLFF. What priorities do you think the House or the Congress will have regarding the question of Health Maintenance and National Health Insurance?

The SPEAKER. Well, I hope we make some progress in this area. I would say that it has top priority. I would put it equal to any other area. We must do something about the rising cost of health care in the United States. If you belong to a family (I'm using the impersonal you.) which is average in their income level, with plenty to live on, but not among the really wealthy, and sickness strikes, I don't care how much insurance you've got, the whole family will be knocked out of commission if they have a long illness by one of their members. It's absolutely a tragic thing.

Rep. WOLFF. Of course, there are a variety of plans that have been offered.

The SPEAKER. Yes, I know.

Rep. WOLFF. And I imagine we'll be working to sift through those plans to come up with what you and the Congress consider to be the best for the American people.

The SPEAKER. Right.

#### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Rep. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great amount of comment and controversy of late over the question of freedom of the press and the ability of the press to actually do their job under certain restraints that have been placed upon them. How do you feel about this?

The SPEAKER. Well, I feel that freedom of the press is as basic as the right to representative government in the United States. We couldn't be a democracy if we didn't have freedom of the press.

And I think Congress owes it to the press to make its proceedings as available as possible, and I think the White House owes it to the press. I think the President should speak to the press more than he does lately. I'm beginning to question the wisdom of the lame-duck President theory that came into being because Roosevelt had served more than two terms. Is the President going to be available to the press, and are his men going to be available to the press? I understand that certain people at the White House have been instructed not to say anything about certain areas of the operation of the government. Now, this seems to me to be unfair not only to the press but to the American people which is what is really important.

Rep. WOLFF. Of course, too, there is the point of the licensing procedure in television and radio which we are now bearing on and the use of veiled threats not to renew licenses unless a particular station or group of stations go along with the Executive line. Here again. . . .

The SPEAKER. Of course, that's a dictatorship. That really is. That's something that if it happens—actually happens—the proper oversight committees of the Congress should move in immediately. . . .

Rep. WOLFF. Do we have the power in Congress to do anything about this?

The SPEAKER. I'm sure we do. I would think that the renewal of licenses for a television or radio station just for political reasons would come close to being a crime.

#### THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

Rep. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the President has decided to send his State of the Union Address to the Congress rather than deliver it as is the President's habit in the past. Do you see any significance in this at all?

The SPEAKER. Well, I don't think it really makes much difference this year. I hope this is not a precedent, though. The President never subjects himself to questioning by the Congress. That's historic. He doesn't subject himself to questioning by the press when he comes up here. So, we'll have the same message, but I think it would be helpful to the country if he delivered it. I don't think it will make a big difference to the Congress really.

Rep. WOLFF. On the question of the Congress and the new Congressmen; we have a goodly number of new Members. Have you been able to meet with them, and how do you appraise them?

The SPEAKER. I know all the new Democrats. I don't know all the new Republicans. We're still early in the Congress and I haven't had much chance to meet people on the Republican side of the aisle. I have met all the new Democrats and I don't think I was ever more impressed by a new group than by this new group of Congressmen that we have on the Democratic side this year. And they are from all sections of the country.

#### A HARD WORKING 93D CONGRESS

Rep. WOLFF. Congress has also been criticized as being somewhat of a Tuesday to Thursday Club over the years. All I know is the fact that I've been here 8 years and I haven't found that we work from Tuesday to Thursday. For the most part we've been working most of the week. Will that be a process that you will continue? In other words, will the Congress work the full week?

The SPEAKER. We've announced our program. We've announced that every other Friday is a working Friday. Every Monday is a working Monday unless it's a holiday. Then we have only minor business. But we have consent calendar and private calendar alternating Monday and Tuesday and District Day. We have something every Monday. The only question whether we're going to meet five days a week or six days a week, as far as I'm concerned, is do we have the business for the Congress to do, and will the committees get the work out?

Rep. WOLFF. Well, I'm sure you'll give us plenty to do, Mr. Speaker, in the year ahead. There are many problems we face. I am certain that we will meet our responsibility in facing them. I am happy to have had you here appearing with us on "Ask Congress" today, but unfortunately, our time is up. I want to thank Speaker Carl Albert for joining us here on "Ask Congress" and for giving us the benefit of his expertise.

#### REHABILITATION ACT OF 1973

(Mr. BRADEMAS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, I joined the gentleman from Kentucky, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, Mr. PERKINS; the gentleman from Minnesota, the ranking minority member of the committee, Mr. QUIGLEY; the gentleman from Hawaii (Mrs. MINK); and the gentleman from Idaho (Mr. HANSEN) to introduce H.R. 17, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, a measure identical to that vetoed by President Nixon after the 92d Congress had adjourned.

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 would extend the present programs of aid to States for vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped, and would provide special services for the severely handicapped, including persons with serious kidney disease and persons suffering from spinal cord injury.

You will recall, Mr. Speaker, that this bill was passed unanimously by both the House and the Senate in the 92d Congress, and we hope that it will continue to enjoy the wide bipartisan support it received in the past.

I include in the Record at this point, Mr. Speaker, a list of colleagues who have since January 3 joined in sponsoring the Rehabilitation Act of 1973:

#### REHABILITATION ACT OF 1973 COSPONSORS

Carl Perkins, John Brademas, Albert Quigley, Patsy Mink, Orval Hansen, Bella Abzug, Joseph Addabbo, Bill Alexander, Herman Badillo, Alphonzo Bell, Tom Bevil, Mario Biaggi, Jonathan Bingham, and Edward Boland.

David Bowen, Frank Brasco, Herbert Burke of Florida, Phillip Burton, Charles Carney, Frank Clark, Bill Clay, James Cleveland, Silvio Conte, John Conyers, James Corman, Lawrence Coughlin, Paul Cronin, George Danielson, and Mendel Davis of South Carolina.

James Delaney, John Dellenback, Frank Denholm, John Dingell, Robert Drinan, John Duncan, Don Edwards of California, Joshua Eilberg, John Erlenborn, Marvin Esch, Dante Fascell, Walter Fauntroy, Walter Flowers, and William D. Ford.

Edwin Forsythe, Donald Fraser, Henry Gonzalez, Ella Grasso, William Green of Pennsylvania, Gilbert Gude, John Hamersmidt, Julia Butler Hansen, Michael Harrington, James Hastings, Augustus Hawkins, Ken Hechler, and Henry Helstoski.

Floyd Hicks, Chet Holifield, Elizabeth Holtzman, James Howard, William Hungate, Harold T. Johnson of California, Jack Kemp, Edward Koch, Peter Kyros, Robert Leggett, Manuel Lujan, Mike McCormack, and Stewart McKinney.

Torbert Macdonald, Ray Madden, Spark Matsunaga, Wiley Mayne, Romano Mazzoli, Lloyd Meeds, John Melcher, Ralph Metcalfe, Parren Mitchell of Maryland, John Moakley, Robert Mollohan, and William Moorhead of Pennsylvania.

Charles Mosher, John Moss, Bill Nichols, James O'Hara, Claude Pepper, Jerry Pettis, Peter Peyser, Bertram Podell, Melvin Price of Illinois, Charles Rangel, Ogden Reid, and Don Riegle.

Peter Rodino, Robert Roe, Benjamin Rosenthal, Dan Rostenkowski, Edward Roush, Edward Roybal, Paul Sarbanes, Patricia Schroeder, John Seiberling, Robert Steele, William Steiger of Wisconsin.

Gerry Studds, James Symington, Frank Thompson, Charles Thone, Robert Tiernan, Joseph Vigorito, William Widnall, Lester Wolff, Wendell Wyatt, and Gus Yatron.

Mr. Speaker, those of us who labored on this measure last year found our belief in its necessity vindicated by the unanimous bipartisan support it received in the 92d Congress.

Those of us sponsoring the measure in the 93d, Mr. Speaker, continue to believe it is sound and necessary and, therefore, hope that Congress will act on it early in this session.

#### COMPREHENSIVE OLDER AMERICANS SERVICES BILL

(Mr. BRADEMAS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of the 93d Congress, together with the gentleman from Kentucky, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor (Mr. PERKINS), I introduced the comprehensive older Americans services bill, a measure identical to the bill vetoed by President Nixon after the 92d Congress had adjourned.

This measure amends the Older Americans Act of 1965 and provides increased funds to States for a variety of services directed at special problems of the aged, including transportation, nutrition, recreation, housing, and employment programs.

The comprehensive older Americans services bill, Mr. Speaker, enjoyed wide bipartisan support in the last Congress, and the list of Members who have joined in cosponsoring the measure indicates that support will continue in the 93d.

Mr. Speaker, you will recall that this measure was passed unanimously by both the House and the Senate in the 92d Congress.

I include in the RECORD at this point, a list of colleagues who have joined in sponsoring this measure:

#### COMPREHENSIVE OLDER AMERICANS SERVICES ACT AMENDMENTS COSPONSORS

John Brademas, Carl Perkins, Bella Abzug, Joseph Addabbo, Brock Adams, Bill Alexander, Frank Annunzio, Herman Badillo, Tom Bevill, Mario Biaggi, Jonathan Bingham, Edward Boland.

David Bowen, Frank Brasco, Herbert Burke of Florida, James Burke of Massachusetts, Phillip Burton, Charles Carney, Frank Clark, Bill Clay, James Cleveland, Silvio Conte, John Conyers, James Corman, Paul Cronin.

George Danielson, Mendel Davis of South Carolina, James Delaney, John Dellenback, Frank Denholm, John Dent, John Dingell, Robert Drinan, John Duncan, Don Edwards of California, Joshua Ellberg, Marvin Esch.

Dante Fascell, Walter Fauntroy, Hamilton Fish, Walter Flowers, L. H. Fountain, Don Fraser, Bill Frenzel, Ella Grasso, William

Green of Pennsylvania, Henry Gonzalez, Gilbert Gude, John Hammerschmidt.

Julia Butler Hansen of Washington, Michael Harrington, Augustus Hawkins, Ken Hechler, John Heinz, Henry Helstoski, Floyd Hicks, Chet Holifield, Elizabeth Holtzman, William Hungate, Harold Johnson of California, Walter Jones of North Carolina.

Robert Kastenmeier, William Keating, Jack Kemp, Edward Koch, Peter Kyros, Robert Leggett, Jerry Litton, Mike McCormack, Stewart McKinney, Torbert Macdonald, Ray Madden, William Maillard.

Spark Matsunaga, Lloyd Meeds, John Melcher, Ralph Metcalfe, Joseph Minish, Patsy Mink, Parren Mitchell of Maryland, John Moakley, Robert Mollohan, William Moorhead of Pennsylvania, Charles Mosher, John Moss.

John Murphy of New York, Morgan Murphy of Illinois, Lucien Nedzi, Robert Nix, David Obey, James O'Hara, Wayne Owens, Claude Pepper, Peter Peyser, Otis Pike, Bertram Podell, Melvin Price of Illinois.

William Randall, Charles Rangel, Thomas Rees, Ogden Reid, Donald Riegle, Peter Rodino, Robert Roe, Fred Rooney of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Rosenthal, Dan Rostenkowski, Edward Roush, Edward Roybal.

Paul Sarbanes, John Seiberling, Robert Steele, Robert Stephens, Gerry Studds, James Symington, Frank Thompson, Jr., Charles Thone, Robert Tiernan, Lester Wolff, Wendell Wyatt, Gus Yatron, Bill Young of Florida.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues and I continue to believe the comprehensive older Americans services bill is sound and necessary legislation and, therefore, hope that Congress will act expeditiously on it in this session.

#### DEDICATION OF MARY E. SWITZER BUILDING

(Mr. BRADEMAS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on January 16, 1973, I was privileged to attend the ceremony marking the dedication of the south building of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as the "Mary E. Switzer Memorial Building." I am pleased to say that the naming of this building after the late Miss Switzer was authorized by legislation sponsored by the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, and me.

Mr. Speaker, when Mary Switzer ended her career in the Federal Government in 1970, this truly remarkable individual was completing 48 years of public service, spanning an era of unprecedented change in the development and delivery of social services—change which Mary Switzer both observed and of which she was a principal catalyst.

#### A LONG CAREER OF PUBLIC SERVICE

A native of Newton, Mass., Miss Switzer graduated from Radcliffe College in 1921 and began her Federal career the following year as a junior economist with the Treasury Department. At the time of her retirement, she had risen to the position of Administrator of the Social and Administrative Services within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the first Director of this agency, which is responsible for welfare and social programs with a budget exceeding \$8 billion annually.

But as early as 1934, Mr. Speaker, Mary Switzer had demonstrated her lifelong concern with health care and the delivery of medical services when she assumed the position of Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Department, who had supervisory responsibility for the U.S. Public Health Service.

When the Public Health Service was transferred in 1939 to the Federal Security, the forerunner of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mary Switzer became Assistant to the Administrator with special responsibilities for public health and the rehabilitation of the handicapped.

For her work during the Second World War in improving scientific policies and projects in support of the war effort, she received the President's Certificate of Merit, the highest wartime award available to civilians.

The postwar years, Mr. Speaker, presented rehabilitation in America with new challenges and new opportunities, and Mary Switzer was in the forefront of the rehabilitation movement demanding adequate attention and services for the Nation's handicapped.

She was a member of the President's Scientific Research Board, which produced the widely acclaimed series of reports, "Science and Public Policy."

In 1950 she was named Commissioner of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, the Federal-State program for rehabilitation of the handicapped, a position which she held through the difficult years of the creation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and during a period of intense demand for rehabilitation services in America.

In December 1951, Miss Switzer was appointed by President Truman to the Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, the Magnuson Commission, which generated major new public awareness of the problems of handicapped and crippled Americans.

During her tenure as Commissioner of the Vocational Rehabilitation Service, Miss Switzer made sweeping changes in the rehabilitation program and her recommendations to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and to the Congress, resulted in vastly expanded and improved services to the disabled, as well as new training programs to provide the specialists required for rehabilitation programs.

I would be derelict, Mr. Speaker, if I did not also bring to the attention of my colleagues the significant international role Mary Switzer played in the course of her life's work.

In 1960 she instituted an international rehabilitation research program, demonstrating, yet again, an interest that extended back to her undergraduate studies at Radcliffe in international affairs, and to her participation in international conferences leading to the development of the World Health Organization.

In 1969, Mr. Speaker, in recognition of her outstanding contributions to the international understanding of rehabilitation problems, Mary Switzer was elect-



ed to the position of Vice President of the World Rehabilitation Fund.

A GREAT ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

But the undoubted high point of Miss Switzer's career was her assumption in 1967 of the position of Administrator of the new Social and Rehabilitation Service with responsibility for all of the new major welfare and rehabilitation services of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and a mandate to administer them in a new, more effective, direction.

As Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service, she carried out the largest administrative responsibility of any woman in Government and supervised the expenditure of over \$8 billion in Federal programs for the aged, the poor, children, youth, and the disabled.

Mr. Speaker, although a powerful "bureaucrat," as she often referred to herself, Mary Switzer never forgot the people for whose benefit those programs were created. On many occasions when testifying before the Education and Labor Committee, Miss Switzer, when asked questions regarding budgetary matters and positions of administrations she served—and she served during the administrations of eight Presidents—would look committee members in the eye and say that we all knew how she felt and would then elaborate, often defying dictates from the Bureau of the Budget, the present Office of Management and Budget. For this courage she gained the respect of both Democrats and Republicans.

Her deep commitment to the welfare of others earned her the tribute of former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Arthur Flemming who called her "one of the 10 career civil servants who has rendered the most to the Nation throughout its entire history."

In 1970 Mary Switzer retired from Government service, and the following year passed away at the George Washington University Hospital, 71 years after her birth in Massachusetts.

#### A FITTING TRIBUTE

In naming the south building of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Mary E. Switzer Memorial Building, Congress has added a new honor to those Mary Switzer received during her lifetime, honors that included the President's Certificate of Merit, which I have already mentioned, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Distinguished Service Award, the Albert Lasker Award, and the National Civil Service Award, to mention just a few.

On January 16, 1973, Mary E. Switzer became the first woman to have a Federal building named after her.

And today, as I think of what one might say about this extraordinary woman, I recall some lines she wrote shortly after she began organizing the Social and Rehabilitation Service.

Said Mary Switzer:

Today, the success of vocational rehabilitation owes much—perhaps all that is distinctive in the program—to the principle that the serving person gives himself to the served: he thinks first of the disabled person

as a human being in need of something and, in the giving of that something, the giver receives even more, to store up for the next cycle of sharing.

Mr. Speaker, Mary Switzer was a "giver" to her fellow human beings, and the honor which we now pay to her memory through the naming of this HEW building after her is only a small token of appreciation from those of us who must carry on her work.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert copies of several of the items from the dedication ceremony, including the address by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable Elliot L. Richardson, and Mr. John D. Twine, Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service.

#### The items follow:

THE MARY E. SWITZER MEMORIAL BUILDING, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

#### DEDICATION CEREMONIES—JANUARY 16, 1973

Named by Act of Congress In Memory Of Mary Elizabeth Switzer, February 16, 1900–October 16, 1971.

"Her many constructive accomplishments live on in tribute to her full life, and will enrich our society for a long time to come"—Richard Nixon.

"Her creative Federal service during almost half a century was devoted to providing new horizons and new hopes for America's disabled and disadvantaged people"—Elliot L. Richardson.

#### PROGRAM

##### Prelude Music

Master of Ceremonies—Mr. John D. Twine, Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service.

Presentation of Colors—Joint Armed Forces Color Team.

The National Anthem—The United States Marine Band.

Invocation—Mother Bernadette D'Hourdes, O. Carm.

#### Introduction of Distinguished Guests

Remarks—The Honorable Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Unveiling of Memorial Plaque—Secretary Richardson, Miss Ann Switzer and Mr. Arthur Switzer.

Remarks—Miss Ann Switzer.

Remarks—Mr. Twine.

Closing Music.

Recognized as the moving force of a quiet revolution, Mary E. Switzer brought about changes that vastly improved services to America's disabled, to the needy and disadvantaged, to children and youth, and to the aged.

As Commissioner of the State-Federal program for rehabilitating the disabled from 1950 to 1967 and Administrator of Federally supported social and rehabilitation programs from 1967 until her retirement in 1970, Mary Switzer brought to the public service a rare combination of administrative skill and personal warmth.

Under her leadership, research was launched to find better ways of serving people. Training was established to provide the professional and technical skills needed in social and rehabilitation programs. Improved methods were applied to rehabilitate the disabled and the disadvantaged. International cooperation was expanded to enable all nations to share in advancements in rehabilitation and allied fields.

Mary E. Switzer is remembered as an administrator who earned respect, a public servant who won affection, and a champion of people everywhere in need of a helping hand.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MARY E. SWITZER MEMORIAL BUILDING

I am very grateful for the opportunity, while still at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to participate in this ceremony. As I have said to many of you before, my own service in the Department has always been inspired by the friendship and the example of Mary Switzer. I cannot think of any occasion in which I would feel a greater sense of personal involvement than in the dedication of this building to her memory.

She was a person whose creative Federal service was devoted to providing new horizons and new hopes for the disadvantaged and the vulnerable of America. It is the fondest dream, I am sure, of all of us here today to spur a fresh appreciation of her great accomplishments and a wider understanding of her desire to do all that could be done, as she put it, "to restore lost hopes as well as lost physical capabilities."

#### MISS SWITZER'S YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Mary Switzer was—I am proud to note, for any of you who don't know it—a native of Massachusetts. She joined the Federal service more than a half century ago, shortly after her graduation from Radcliffe. Her entry into the field of social and rehabilitation matters came during her early years in the Treasury Department, which then, oddly enough, supervised the U.S. Public Health Service. When that unit joined the newly established Federal Security Agency in 1939, Mary Switzer became Assistant to the Administrator, with special concern for public health and vocational rehabilitation services. Her work in this capacity during World War II won her the President's Certificate of Merit, the highest wartime civilian award. She was named head of the newly established State-Federal rehabilitation program in 1950, a position she held until she became the first Administrator of HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service when it was formed in 1967.

Miss Switzer retired from Federal service in 1970 to become Vice President of the World Rehabilitation Fund. She had for many years been involved in international health and rehabilitation activities. Right after World War II, she served as United States representative during the conferences leading to the establishment of the World Health Organization. That experience led her to organize an international rehabilitation research program in 1960. Her resourcefulness helped work out the counterpart fund arrangement which supports the valuable program of international research and training.

Mary Switzer's years of public service spanned an era marked by unprecedented growth and major change in social and rehabilitation programs. Her strong personality, her energy, her drive, her charm, her humor, were together and in appropriate combinations key factors in helping to evolve and expand Federally financed programs for millions of people in need of services. She was a prime architect of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1954. She expanded a program that in 1950 was rehabilitating barely more than 50,000 disabled persons a year and only some 200 mentally retarded to a quarter of a million a year, of whom 25,000 are mentally retarded, 8,000 blind and many severely disabled. Her vision brought about the National Technical Institute for the Deaf, the National Theater of the Deaf, the National Center for the Deaf-Blind and numerous other programs for severely disabled individuals. She increased the Federal budget for rehabilitation more than 20-fold in her years of service, but she brought back many times that amount in taxes, in respect and in love.

Under Mary Switzer's guidance, the Social and Rehabilitation Service was established

and began to simplify procedures for needy people to obtain public assistance and other services. She led the drive to unify social, welfare and rehabilitation components in a meaningful way for all persons in need of services.

**"A SENSE OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT"**

Her philosophy expressed a short time before her death was that "the most valuable asset," and I'm quoting her words, "that any staff member in our bureaus can possibly have is a sense of personal commitment—a sense of identification with the cause they are serving and some recognition of the fact that they have to give a little more in those programs than has to be given in programs that do not involve direct relationships with people. The larger we become and the farther away people in Washington get from the places where service is given and the people that we are in business to serve, the more difficult it becomes to preserve this person-to-person feeling, this sense of personal commitment. And, as time goes on, unless we watch it carefully, the kind of people who will perform our tasks will not be people who are primarily interested in persons who are in trouble."

Mary Switzer devoted her whole heart and mind year after year to making HEW the true Department of the people. She was a genuine, a tireless champion of handicapped and vulnerable Americans. In honoring her, we honor a remarkable human being, a magnificent woman, for most of us here a true and inspirational friend who knew to the very fiber of her being that it is indeed better to light a candle than to curse the darkness.

At a retirement party for Mary Switzer in 1970, David Hayes, Director of the National Theater of Deaf, referred to her help to that particular disadvantaged group. He said: "Thanks to Mary, the dark silhouette of an entire people is being illuminated." Our fondest dream—and one I am sure she would support—is that this newly constituted Mary Switzer Memorial Building can forever continue to focus the conscience and understanding of all Americans on the illumination of that "dark silhouette."

**REMARKS BY JOHN D. TWINAME, ADMINISTRATOR, SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE, HEW, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MARY E. SWITZER MEMORIAL BUILDING**

We had an informal name for this building when Mary Switzer and her staff moved here from the North Building a little more than three years ago—some employees threatened to put a sign over the door with the inscription "Switzerland." This new formal name is more fitting and appropriate, however.

Let me tell you a few of the building details. This plaque in brass is a model of two identical bronze plaques which are being cast to go into the lobbies of each of the main entrances of the building. I hope many of you will take an opportunity after the ceremony to go into the West Lobby and take a closer look at this plaque and the other exhibits on display. In addition to this building dedication plaque, there is an artist's rendering of another bronze plaque we are having made to describe Miss Switzer's career, a temporary exhibit of mementos presented to her during her lifetime, and an exhibit showing how this building is being changed to make it more accessible to persons with various types of physical handicaps.

The changes in the building were going on right up to the close of business yesterday, although all of us inside had to come out on the street a little after four o'clock. I felt Mary's mischievous spirit in my bones at that time. We were having a planning meeting when the fire alarm went off—and it was no routine fire drill because the alarm was

accompanied by the sound of no less than seven engines that drew into this street to put out a basement fire in our publications room. I thought it might be part of our program to cut down on paperwork, but someone else suggested it was just a warm-up for this ceremony today, which kicks off a week of subsequent events and festivities.

I do, however, want to tell the general services people that I was worried until yesterday about them getting this plaque here. Yesterday, I began worrying about having a building here to go with the plaque. In any event, renovation now will go on in an even more serious way.

**AN APPROPRIATE BUILDING**

This renovation program started under Miss Switzer's direction, and various public facilities—drinking fountains, pay telephones, ramps to the doors, and so forth—were adapted for handicapped employees. We want renovation to be not just the naming of a building, but the making of a model of how existing buildings can be modified to end discrimination against handicapped employees.

We are planning a number of additional modifications to make this building as free as possible of architectural barriers. We have formed an employee committee, of which Mrs. Frances Curtis is a member, to recommend further changes. We will be working with the General Services Administration, which is cooperating in the venture.

The employee committee, furthermore, is working with personnel and examining personnel practices so we can go further and eliminate as well attitudinal barriers to the employment of handicapped people in this building. We want it to be truly a living memorial to Miss Switzer.

I can't close this ceremony without this one personal note. It was about four years ago that Mary Switzer persuaded me to join her, and I began a privileged year by her side as Deputy Administrator, catching her infectious spirit. Three years ago next month we held a memorable dinner for Mary on the occasion of her leaving the Department. As I leave now the post she left to me, I can echo her words that night. She expressed then, as I do now, the wish that we could get across to people outside the government the great excitement of the work here. She said she wanted to dramatize (and did she!) that government can make a difference and does make a difference. She said she believed government will make a difference if we will just give ourselves to its service.

As I consider the many dedicated people in HEW that I know and I have had the privilege to work with—and many of them are here today—I am sure that the spirit of that commitment will be carried on under your new Secretary and under your new Administrator.

My one regret in closing this ceremony is that the Mary E. Switzer Memorial Building is only five stories high, which makes it a building entirely too small to stand beside the towering achievements of her career in public service.

**A LEGACY OF HOPE**

I would like to express the hope that, in renewing our own commitment to her service in this dedication, we may see the joining of the Administration and the Congress in a practical accommodation to each other to jointly push forward the new Vocational Rehabilitation legislation to honor the work to which Mary Switzer gave her life. I am sure that legislation and this building will provide a memorial to give disadvantaged and handicapped citizens a measure of that quality she most brought to people—hope.

I end this ceremony, and my term as Administrator, with the words she left us at that testimonial to her three years ago:

"Godspeed. God speed you on the road to make real the motto of our Department: 'Hope, the anchor of life.'"

Let us stand now for a moment of reflection as the Marine Band dedicates its hymn to her memory.

**TRIBUTE TO FORMER PRESIDENT  
LYNDON B. JOHNSON**

(Mr. WON PAT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, the American people have lost a great public servant and a distinguished legislator with the passing of our beloved former President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Truly a product of this country's heritage of self-made men, President Johnson came from a humble beginning, rose through adversity to become an astute legislator, and ended his proud career by serving as one of the most compassionate Presidents America has ever known.

Born in a poor section of Texas, President Johnson grew up fully aware of what the evils of poverty and racial discrimination meant to the Mexican-Americans, the blacks, and other minority groups in our country.

It was this sense of great morality which elevated President Johnson from being merely a good Chief Executive to being the equal of some of our most compassionate Presidents, as were Franklin Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln.

As the delegate from the territory of Guam, I speak from firsthand knowledge of our late President's sensitivities to his fellow man. During his term in office, our fellow Americans on Guam became eligible for inclusion in more Federal programs than ever before in the territory's history. Much of the credit for our legislative success was due to the new era of good will and sympathetic legislation which President Johnson and Members of Congress urged at every opportunity.

The late President also focused an important measure of attention on Guam when he came to our island to hold the first in a continuing round of peace talks with South Vietnam's leaders, and thus became the first President to ever visit the territory.

And, when President Johnson affixed his signature to the Guam elective Governor bill, on September 11, 1968, he characteristically said:

It is high time that the people of Guam were accorded this basic right. I am pleased and proud to sign a bill which will permit them to elect their own Chief Executive.

History will remember President Johnson for many reasons, including his unfortunate involvement in the Vietnam war. But, I am certain that history will best remember our late President for the extraordinary and unlimited understanding and sympathy which he felt for the common man. And the Great Society which he strove so mightily for, will continue to live on in the hearts and minds of his fellow man as a lasting tribute to Lyndon Baines Johnson.



## COUNCIL ON ENERGY POLICY PROPOSED BY 49 MEMBERS

(Mr. VAN DEERLIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, the headlines could scarcely be more ominous. Daily, it seems, there are new and ever more disquieting reports of mounting shortages of precious energy fuels. This type of news is never pleasant, of course, but in the chilly dead of winter the specter of a critical fuel shortage virtually cries out for remedial action.

On January 6, Congressman CONTE and I introduced H.R. 1258, calling for the creation of a Council on Energy Policy to advise both Congress and the executive branch.

Admittedly, the Council would not in itself be a final solution to the energy crisis. But it could at least point us in the right direction, and do so in the shortest possible time.

I emphasize that the members of the Council, while appointed by the President, would face confirmation by the Senate. Likewise, the Council members would be required by the bill we are proposing to be responsive to Congress and its committees; there would be no shield of executive privilege for them in their dealings with the legislative branch.

Today, we are reoffering the bill, with 47 cosponsors, a representative cross section of the House membership that includes 25 Democrats and 22 Republicans.

We are hopeful of early hearings on these bills, for we believe that the Council is more urgently needed than ever.

The news release that follows is about the reintroduction of the bill and identifies the cosponsors:

## NEWS RELEASE

Legislation to establish a White House-based Council of three master planners to cope with the energy crisis was reintroduced today (Wednesday) by Reps. Lionel Van Deerlin, D-Calif., and Silvio O. Conte, R-Mass. They were joined by 47 co-sponsors.

Conte and Van Deerlin said their proposed Council on Energy Policy would fill a vacuum by "developing coherent national programs for the best use of our diminishing energy resources."

Now, they noted, more than 40 U.S. agencies and at least 12 committees of Congress are involved in energy matters, but none of them speaks for the Government as a whole. "In too many cases," they said, "bureaucratic jurisdictions overlap and the resulting signals are downright contradictory."

Responsibilities assigned the Council would include:

Act as the principal adviser to Congress and the President in the formulation of energy policies.

Develop and then oversee Governmental implementation of a "long-range comprehensive plan" for uses of energy in the United States.

Review energy-related reports and legislative proposals submitted by executive agencies.

Resolve energy policy conflicts among federal agencies.

Recommend measures for federal and state governments to take in dealing with shortages and other power emergencies.

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The bill was first introduced last summer, but time ran out on the 92d Congress before it could be considered.

"With critical new shortages of precious energy fuels reported almost daily, we feel the Council is more urgently needed than ever," Van Deerlin and Conte told the House.

Cosponsors include: Reps. Joseph P. Adabbo, Thomas L. Ashley, Herman Badillo, Frank J. Brasco, Clarence J. Brown, James T. Broyhill, John Buchanan, James C. Corman, James J. Delaney, John Dellenback, John H. Dent, Edward J. Derwinski, Harold D. Donohue, Pierre S. (Pete) du Pont, Jack Edwards, Joshua Ellberg, Edwin D. Eshleman, Hamilton Fish Jr., Robert N. Giaimo, Ella T. Grasso, Julia Butler Hansen, James Harvey, Elwood Hillis, Albert W. Johnson, Carleton J. King, Gillis Long and Manuel Lujan, Jr.

Also: Reps. William S. Mailliard, Richard W. Mallery, Dawson Mathis, Romano L. Mazzoli, John Moakley, Claude Pepper, Bertram L. Podell, Robert Price, Thomas M. Rees, Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Dan Rostenkowski, Edward R. Roybal, Robert H. Steele, Victor V. Veysey, Jerome R. Waldie, John Ware, G. William Whitehurst, Lester L. Wolff and Roger H. Zion.

## "TORBY" MACDONALD STAYS ON TARGET

(Mr. VAN DEERLIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, there are few among us as cogent and articulate as our distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, the Honorable TORBERT H. MACDONALD.

As a member of the Communications Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I feel I can speak with some competence on Mr. MACDONALD's contributions. TORBY, of course, is chairman of the subcommittee.

In the last year or so, one of TORBY's main concerns has been the occasionally blatant attempts in this administration to undermine some of the freedoms which broadcast journalists have shared with their brethren in the print media.

As a former newsman, I could not agree more with Congressman MACDONALD. Never before has our traditionally free press been subjected to so much unwarranted pressure from the Federal Government.

In a speech last week to the California Broadcasters Association, TORBY said it all, in a masterful review of the threats directed at the media and the steps he thinks broadcasters should and must take to protect themselves.

In this talk, TORBY also provided us with a good preview of what this session may hold in store for the broadcasters, particularly the hard-pressed newsmen in their ranks.

I commend the speech, which follows, to the attention of all our colleagues:

## REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN TORBERT H. MACDONALD

Today, I am going to talk about the Nixon Network Neurosis.

I am, of course, talking about the actions of Mr. Whitehead of the Office of Telecommunications Policy and his speech last month. The speech was released with ap-

propriate fanfare, but the bill that was supposed to go with it was not. When the speech had gotten its maximum publicity and Mr. Whitehead himself had auditioned on television for every talk show that would have him, the bill itself was efficiently leaked. Those of you who have taken the time to read the bill carefully—and I suppose most of you have read it as closely as you do your licenses—know that there is a vast gap between the language of the proposed legislation and the clearly threatening language of the speech.

It seems to me there has been an overwhelmingly negative response. With one or two predicable exceptions among the ranks of broadcasters, most everyone seems to have recognized the menace contained openly in the speech. For once, newspapers and magazines joined television in an outraged chorus. Most everyone called it the carrot-and-stick approach. For want of a better cliché, I'll use that. I'll even steal from the late Winston Churchill, when he scoffed at predictions that England would have her neck wrung like a chicken by the Germans in three weeks—"Some chicken. Some neck." And I say about Mr. Whitehead's approach, "Some carrot. Some stick."

Mr. Whitehead has a bad habit of meddling. In the heat of the last campaign, he carried a message to Hollywood. No more re-runs, he said, speaking directly to the unions who had rightly or wrongly figured that fewer re-runs would automatically mean more jobs for them.

The White House would like to lecture the networks on how to run—or re-run—their business. Well, we all get tired of re-runs, but the re-runs that make me most tired are the re-runs of the Administration's determination to shape the independent voices of television news in their own image.

We've heard the theme articulated with headline-catching alliterations by the Vice President of the United States. We've heard it presented with sweet reason by the White House Director of Communications, Mr. Klein. We've heard it brandished by a White House speech-writer, Mr. Patrick Buchanan, coupled with threats of antitrust action.

And most frequently, we've heard that theme of "Stop the criticism or we'll stop you" explained with patronizing patience by Mr. Whitehead of the O.T.P.

Now, let me take one minute to point out that this tactic is not new. They gave it a trial run in the field of Public Broadcasting last year. Whitehead tried to drive a wedge between the stations and the national interconnected group or, as he labeled them, "the fourth network". In a well-publicized speech in Miami, he told the stations to be dissatisfied with the programs and the service they'd been getting from the Public Broadcasting Network operation, and get in there and take the money away from them for "local" use.

That was the exhibition game, to use the analogy that was so popular around the White House pre-Superbowl. They looked over the film from that one, and evidently decided their game plan was a workable one, so they used Indianapolis for the opening game of the big league regular season. And I use the phrase "opening game" advisedly, because this is just the first month of a long four-year season with the same quarterback. If they win this one, they may think they can go all the way.

When I spoke to the Massachusetts Broadcasters Association in September, I told them that what had happened to public television could happen to them. I don't think they believed me or took my warning. After all, they probably said to themselves, public television depends to a degree on government money, and the Administration can cut that money off. But what could they do to com-

mercial broadcasting, that institution that is free and independent under the laws of this land?

Well, it looks as though they asked that same question within the White House, and Mr. Whitehead's message figures to be one of the answers. Hit them where government can hit them, right in their licenses. Play on natural tensions that exist between an affiliate and its network, between the news centers in New York and Washington and the isolated stations many hundreds of miles away. Give the sanction of the President of the United States to complaints against imagined bias on the network news, and then you'll have frantic reaction.

I don't know if they actually expect each of you out here on the West Coast to hire a staff of national and international news experts, so you can take advantage of those three hours between getting Cronkite and Chancellor and Reasoner down the line, and edit them to fit your own interpretation of the day's news. I doubt that even Whitehead could be so unrealistic and self-deluding. But they obviously expect you to rise to your feet cheering, and put the pressure on network management to soften up the news, play down the commentary, make it nice for those faceless fellows who prepare for the President the famous morning news summary, complete with interpretation of what the networks said.

Perhaps, as I have heard from spokesmen of the industry, no such thing will happen. I deeply hope that is correct. Because if you give up on this one, if you split your ranks as they've been trying to split them for you, no license renewal bill in the long run will be advantageous to you.

Now, what about a license renewal bill? Will there be one during the 93rd Congress?

I guess that depends to some extent on you broadcasters, and to a greater extent on my subcommittee, and to an even greater extent on the 535 members of Congress.

As I read all the signs and portents from the vantage point of ten terms of service in the House, this Congress is in a rebellious mood. We all have witnessed the gradual erosion of the Powers that were delegated to us by the Constitution. We have seen the Executive Branch act more and more like a government within a government, spending unauthorized money on airplanes and bombs, impounding funds appropriated by Congress, withholding money for housing and health, vetoing important bills while Congress is closed down for a short campaign period, and generally patting the Congress on the head and telling it to lie down and play dead.

To me, the Office of Telecommunications Policy is a striking example of this erosion, this diversion of the intent of Congress, this disregard of our historic separation of powers.

When the plan to establish an Office of Telecommunications Policy in the Executive Office of the President was sent up to the Congress in early 1970, hearings were held by the Committee on Government Operations, on which I also serve. During those hearings, Representative Bud Brown of Ohio, a member of my subcommittee as well, quoted an article in *Broadcasting magazine* which said that Mr. Whitehead quote "Made it clear last week the White House has no qualms about seeking to influence the FCC or other so-called independent agencies." Mr. Brown, rightly, called this a very, very serious matter. The next day, Mr. Whitehead rushed over to the committee a letter denying any undesirable or improper influence on the FCC—but he did hedge it with the statement that "open expressions of viewpoint are not 'influence'." Well, maybe they're not influence in some sense of the word that I don't quite understand—but when the White House calls the FCC and suggests it would like to see

certain decisions made, it does carry a little more weight than when the call comes from one of you.

To underscore what it is Mr. Whitehead doesn't seem to think comes under the definition of influence, I refer you to the *New York Times'* unprecedented publication of the luncheon conversation he had with the *Times* Board of Editors last week. Bear with me, because this speaks directly to the subject of challenges of licenses—something that happened, by sheer coincidence as you know, to the *Washington Post* TV and radio stations in Florida by a group who happened to be strong and close Nixon supporters and contributors. I want to quote the whole exchange, because it is very revealing.

"New York Times: If a station had its license revoked after the FCC decided that the local community challengers were correct that the station had not been attuned to the interest of the community, what would a new company have to prove before it could get a license?"

"Whitehead: It would have to show that it could do a better job. It would be comparative. It would have to promise more in terms of what the community says it wants."

"New York Times: That could become very political."

"Whitehead: But it could be very political today. If there's no way of involving the Government in granting television licenses we'd have the opportunity for being very political. The question is what procedures do you want to establish to minimize that input. You're walking this very delicate line between government regulation and the freedoms of the First Amendment."

"New York Times: This would take away a lot of power from the FCC, would it not?"

"Whitehead: It would."

Unquote. But remember, no influence.

Now let me pick up the thread that the New York Times luncheon interrupted.

The Congress took the word of the Executive Branch, and approved the President's Reorganization Plan No. 1, creating, among other things, the O.T.P. I would invite you, sometime, to read through the three paragraphs that define the essential roles of this new office. There are only 11 sentences. Ten of them speak in glowing generalities of the need for this office in terms of technological capabilities, sharing more fully in the experience, the insights and forecasts of government and non-government experts, dealing with the worsening spectrum shortage, and coordinating operations for the Federal Government's own vast communications systems.

All perfectly legitimate and perhaps necessary. One sentence seems to contain the loophole through which Mr. Whitehead, his 60-man bureaucracy, and some 300 other bodies hidden in the Department of Commerce who report to him, have driven their ambitious machine. This sentence reads, quote, "The new office would enable the Executive Branch to speak with a clearer voice and to act as a more effective partner in discussions of communications policy with both the Congress and the Federal Communications Commission." Well, it certainly has enabled the Executive Branch to speak with a louder voice. It is regrettable that their definition of being an active partner with the Congress and the FCC takes the form of dispatching Mr. Whitehead around the country making surprise speeches that have only one purpose, as far as I can see—to control what goes on the Nation's TV screens, so that it will conform to the wishes of the Chief Executive.

As I told the broadcasters in Massachusetts last September, this has a familiar ring to it. President DeGaulle of France once expressed privately to a President I knew very

well his amazement that the United States Government didn't consider it necessary to control television. Could it be possible that some people in this administration of the U.S. Government have similar feelings?

The Congress has a different message. Legislation on license renewal for broadcasters still must originate in the Congress, and we intend to pursue the matter irrespective of the White House and its broad-handed attempts to dictate to you and your colleagues what news is acceptable and what news is "elitist gossip" or "ideological plugola".

Very shortly, when the committees of the 93rd Congress have been fully formed, we will announce hearings on broadcast license renewals. There may be a number of bills to consider. I have pledged to give special consideration to radio, because I believe it has suffered over the years as we have all devoted most of our time and attention to television. These will be long, thorough hearings. It is my sincere hope that they will result in significant legislation.

But in view of the unexpected stick that the White House has seen fit to tie to the carrot of five-year renewals and added protection from challengers, you broadcasters are in a more precarious position than you were before. I want to be perfectly candid with you: If the hearings and the subsequent legislative history of a license renewal bill indicate that broadcasters are willing to give away their news independence in order to please the Government, I predict there will be little sympathy in my committee for your case.

Your licensees will certainly, and correctly, continue to complain to your networks if you think they are misusing their responsibility to present the news fairly and honestly. Your listeners and viewers certainly, and correctly, will be encouraged to file their complaints with you, the networks, and the FCC. And, the industry being a non-eleemosynary institution, your advertisers probably have this right and privilege, too. But obviously the Government, and I specifically include the Executive, does not.

So I am pleased to leave you with two messages that I hope will be remembered. The first is for your broadcasters, and your colleagues around the country. That message is "Stick to your guns".

Those guns should be in place to protect you from anyone who would try to interfere with your right to present television and radio news in the way qualified newsmen—your employees and the networks—see it. There are laws and rules to take care of transgressions, and there is a quasi-independent government agency, the FCC, and the courts, to enforce those laws and rules.

The other message is to the Office of Telecommunications Policy, and I have no more qualms about delivering a message to them through you than they had in using Indianapolis journalists to get their message to broadcasters they hoped to intimidate. That message is short and simple: stick to your Congressional-granted authority, and stop trying to force-feed the American people. We don't need news standards that bear a stamp, "Government approved—fit for public consumption".

Thank you.

#### BABY SEALS THREATENED AGAIN

(Mr. DANIELSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DANIELSON. Mr. Speaker, last year Congress passed the Marine Mammal Protection Act which is now the law



of the land. This was done to protect certain endangered species, by prohibiting the importation and resale of their skins in order to remove the profit motive from the capture and slaughter of those species. In its wisdom, Congress recognized that there should be certain exemptions from this general provision, including the importation or taking of marine mammals for scientific or educational purposes and to minimize undue economic hardship.

This morning I find in the Federal Register, at page 2340, a listing of seven applications received by the National Marine Fisheries Service for exemptions under the law in order "to minimize undue economic hardship."

One of these is by the Bergner International Corp. of New York, N.Y. which seeks to import about 10,000 dressed Beater and Blueback sealskins from Canada for resale. According to Webster's Third Edition a "Beater" seal is, "In New Foundland, a young harp seal on its first journey northward from its breeding area."

My office contacted the National Marine Fisheries Service and we have been informed that no standards have been set up for measuring "undue economic hardship" within the meaning of the law.

But what I really want to know is whose undue economic hardship needs to be minimized? Is it that of some poor Eskimos or Indians, each of whom have two or three pelts on hand which should not be wasted? Or is it some ladies who wish to wear the pelts on their own backs? Or are these 10,000 baby seal skins and other sealskins to be imported for resale in order to minimize the undue economic hardship of the fur dealers?

I do not know the answers, but I am seeking this information and will let this body know if and when I can find it.

#### "WAR POWERS" BILL

(Mrs. GREEN of Oregon asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, today, along with my colleague in the Oregon delegation, WENDELL WYATT, and others, I introduced a "war powers" bill which is identical in all important respects to one I introduced back in October of 1969.

The bill that we have introduced not only defines the conditions for the use of draftees in such contingencies as precipitated the Korean and Vietnamese wars, but defines anew Presidential and congressional prerogatives in such matters, avoiding as far as possible unwarranted encroachment on their mutual and heavy responsibilities.

The essentials of this bill are as follows:

First, the President is allowed, without the prior consent of the Congress to commit troops to a combat area, volunteers without limit, draftees for the first 90 days only.

Second. Within 90 days, Congress by resolution—or declaration of all-out war—must endorse the original Presidential action to permit continuation of assignment of draftees to combat areas or they must be promptly withdrawn.

Third. Within 180 days of the President's initial commitment of troops to a combat area, all are to be promptly withdrawn unless the Congress has formally declared a state of war to exist.

This bill uses a straightforward and practical approach by taking the form of an amendment to the Selective Service Act. The realities, as I see them are: That the President must have the authority and the latitude to respond swiftly to crisis situations—a Pearl Harbor of the future—which may lead to a shooting war, but it is intolerable that the Congress should indefinitely default on its grave constitutional responsibility in such matters; that some legislative mechanism needs to be provided to keep us alert to possibilities of literally backing into a full-fledged war, as we never intended to—but did—in Vietnam; finally, that while it may be proper to demand of youth to share in sacrifices made by the entire Nation, even as their forefathers did, it is intolerable to send them off to fight and die for vaguely defined causes in undeclared wars while the rest of the Nation goes on with business as usual.

The momentous announcement by the President on the evening of January 23 in no way lessens the need for war powers legislation. Finally free of the emotionalism and deviousness of the longest, costliest conflict in our history, perhaps now the Congress and the President can begin to consider with complete detachment and objectivity legislative procedures to keep us literally from unintentionally blundering into full-scale wars ever again. If we have not discerned this important lesson from the Vietnam experience, we shall have learned little indeed. My fellow Oregonian from the other side of the aisle agrees with me that war powers legislation needs to be considered at the earliest possible time. So, apparently, do other of our distinguished colleagues who have joined in cosponsorship of the bill, including Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. CAREY of New York, Mr. DENT, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. GIALMO, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. ICHORD, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. MAZOLLI, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. PIKE, and Mr. YATES. Needless to say, I am pleased and heartened by the broad representation which has been achieved in this initial group of cosponsors. It indicates to me that this important bill has the potential to unite the political spectrum on the essential goal of achieving a redefinition of war powers as shared by the Congress and the President. I hope in time we will be joined by many more from both sides of the aisle.

#### FOREIGN AID TO NORTH VIETNAM?

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, on the way in here some newspaper reporter stopped me and asked me if I knew anything about the agreement to give foreign aid to North Vietnam.

I told him that I had not heard of any such agreement, but hell would be a skating rink when I voted any of my taxpayers' dollars to give any aid to that murderous bunch in Hanoi.

(Mr. MIZELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, we meet today, as we have not met in so long a time, in an atmosphere of peace, following President Nixon's announcement to the Nation last evening that a settlement of the Vietnam war has finally and successfully and honorably been achieved.

At the request of representatives of the press, I responded last night to the President's announcement and I would at this time like to share that response with my colleagues. The text of the statement follows:

The good tidings of peace which President Nixon has announced tonight bring joy to a Nation weary of war and eager to bind up the wounds of division we have so long endured.

I congratulate the President for having the courage to demand an honorable peace and the perseverance and ability to secure it.

But more, I join the Nation in paying well-deserved tribute to the two and one-half million Americans who served in this long and difficult conflict, and in welcoming home American prisoners of war and the men still serving in Vietnam.

Still more, my most profound personal thanks go to the 55,000 brave men who gave their lives in the service of their country, and to their families who have sustained the greatest of losses.

This peace would not be a reality if it were not for the overwhelming support Americans have given the President in his efforts to secure an honorable peace.

#### CEASE-FIRE IN VIETNAM

(Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has announced a cease-fire in Vietnam beginning Saturday, January 27. He has announced that within 60 days our prisoners of war will be released, our missing in action will be accounted for, and our fighting men will be withdrawn.

The settlement of this long and difficult war is great news for all Americans and especially for the prisoners of war and their families who have been separated for so long. I pray that a full accounting of those missing in action will mean that many more families will be reunited.

I think a special word should be said about the over 2 million American military personnel who served our Nation in Vietnam. And a special word should be said about their families. Some of these men paid the supreme price of their lives

and many others were wounded during this conflict. We should never forget that this was probably the hardest war this country has ever had to fight. The issues were never clear, the decisions were never easy, and the support for our fighting men was never unanimous. But these men and their families discharged their duty well, and the country will always be indebted to them for it. I personally salute all those who served in Vietnam as well as their families.

The United States has done its best to help South Vietnam secure the right of self-determination. No nation can provide another nation with the will to determine its own future. But we have provided everything else by seeing that South Vietnam has the best possible equipment. We have provided time for South Vietnam to make its own preparation for the years ahead. Certainly we have done all that reasonably could be expected and it is now time to come home.

I commend President Nixon for his unbending determination to end this war in an honorable manner. He has persevered in the face of steady criticism and has ended the war in such a way that there is the greatest chance for a lasting peace. And it is important to remember that peace is not just the temporary absence of war but peace is the right of a country to chart its own course free of fear and threat.

The Vietnam war has been a long, frustrating, and divisive experience for our country but I am confident that the people of America will now close ranks as they always have before. I am extremely relieved and happy that this war is ending and our boys are coming home.

#### BILL TO ESTABLISH A COUNCIL ON ENERGY POLICY

(Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I am cosponsoring a bill today which will establish a Council on Energy Policy in the Executive Office of the President. The Council, to be made up of three knowledgeable authorities, will be charged with weaving together all the loose threads of energy policy which now exist in the Federal governmental fabrics.

The Council would not assume any of the powers now held by existing agencies. But it would seek to provide rhyme and reason to our overall energy policy.

Steps are currently being taken to alleviate our energy shortages on a short-term basis, and other such steps are under consideration. A need remains, however, for long-range planning to guide and coordinate our energy policy so that future shortages will be avoided. I believe the Council on Energy Policy will give us this much needed direction.

#### CEASE-FIRE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

(Mr. LATTI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 min-

ute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. LATTI. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's announcement of a cease-fire in Southeast Asia was good news to the world but better news to all Americans. The President's negotiation of an honorable peace will help—if this is possible—sustain those who have made untold sacrifices so that others might enjoy freedom.

It is needless to say that this was another no-win war from which it was almost impossible to extricate ourselves with honor and without sacrificing the freedom of 50 million Southeast Asians. Never before in our history, has our Government had to negotiate for peace with an enemy while so many were publicly "tooting" the enemy's horn. The mere fact that the President has been able to conclude an honorable cease-fire under such conditions is a monumental tribute to his leadership and to his patience.

Let us now pray that we can bind up our wounds and live in peace.

#### TERMINATION OF AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

(Mr. WYLIE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased and relieved when I heard the President announce the termination of American involvement in Vietnam. The President must be commended for his persistent courage and steadfastness in bringing about an honorable peace. His insistence on a mutual agreement gives us reason to hope for a lasting peace in our time.

This, our longest war, has divided our Nation for 8 years and has absorbed most of our resources. We cannot be the policemen for the world nor can we rush to the aid of every country and conflict with a nation whose political philosophies are disagreeable to us. Still, we cannot withdraw into a shell. But now we can exert more of our Nation's energies on domestic affairs and human resources.

Over 45,000 brave Americans made the supreme sacrifice in Vietnam. To the families of these men we owe a debt which can never be repaid. Our No. 1 concern must be the release of all prisoners of war and an accounting of our missing in action. We must address ourselves to the problems of those who have been disabled in some way because of their involvement in the Vietnam conflict. Many returning veterans are unemployed. Steps have been taken to satisfy this need. Now that the Vietnam war is concluded, let us unify in our goal to improve our domestic posture. I do not mean that we cannot have political discussion, but political consideration should not be uppermost. In this light, we should unite in our support for the President. I feel he is making a determined conscientious and patriotic effort to solve the many problems facing our Nation.

Having decided to express myself con-

cerning the end of the Vietnam war, I would be remiss if I did not allude to our late President, Lyndon B. Johnson who will soon lie in state across the hall in the Capitol rotunda. History will record that President Johnson gave up any chance to be reelected President in 1968 in a supreme sacrifice effort to effect a peace in Southeast Asia. Would that he could be with us today to share this special moment.

#### CEASE-FIRE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

(Mr. DEVINE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, although bitterly criticized, President Nixon had the courage to make those difficult and tough decisions that resulted in accomplishing his announced objectives: First, cease-fire, internationally supervised; second, release and return of prisoners of war; third, full accounting for those missing in action; fourth, self-determination for the South Vietnamese.

This meets all goals and conditions for a lasting peace with honor, a long stride toward world peace.

All Americans must recognize and commend the President for his tireless, steadfast efforts which finally ended this tragic war that he did not start.

In response to my colleague the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HAYS), of course, I have not been in on the secret negotiations, but it is my understanding that we have made no secret agreements having to do with the restoration, rehabilitation, or refurbishing of the north, although traditionally the United States has had such a posture, as it had with Germany and Japan following World War II.

I do not know what is going to happen. This is a decision which the Congress must make, but there are no secret agreements or commitments, according to my best information.

#### VIETNAM CEASE-FIRE

(Mr. KING asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted that our prayers have been answered so that the President could announce last night that we have at long last negotiated an honorable settlement to the Vietnam war and that a cease-fire will go into effect this Saturday.

The American people, with the exception of a few, have always wanted a peace founded on justice and one which would at least hold a reasonable chance for South Vietnam to resist the Communist forces which have for years tried to overrun that country.

The President's announcement that all our prisoners will be released; all those missing in action will be accounted for; all U.S. troops removed within 60 days and that the South Vietnamese will be given the right to determine their own future, is indeed the best news we have had in many, many years.



I am proud and pleased to join with President Nixon in fervently hoping that the peace we have achieved—will be a peace that will last. My appreciation and thanks to those who stood behind the President in these trying times.

#### RELEASE OF AMBASSADOR TO HAITI KNOX AND U.S. CONSUL CHRISTENSEN

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be able to announce to the House that within the hour our distinguished Ambassador to Haiti, the Honorable Clinton E. Knox and U.S. Consul Ward Christensen were released by 4 or 5 terrorists who had held them at gun point throughout last night. Both men were not harmed.

In return for the release the Haitian Government agreed to release 12 prisoners held by authorities and to provide a plane to fly the terrorists and the prisoners to another country, reportedly Mexico.

Last evening Deputy Under Secretary of State William Macomber, Jr., flew to Port-au-Prince to supervise U.S. efforts to secure the Ambassador's release. I know that all of us are happy that the efforts of the Secretary and his colleagues as well as the Haitian Government have brought to a safe conclusion this unfortunate incident.

The Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee will look into this incident as part of its continuing concern for the safety of U.S. diplomats abroad.

#### METRIC CONVERSION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. BELL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce the Metric Conversion Act of 1973. Beginning with the legislation of metric measures within the United States in 1866, this Nation has embarked on a slow, gradual course toward adoption of the metric system of measurement. I am convinced that this change is both inevitable and beneficial, and that we must now move to accomplish the change in a planned, orderly, and equitable fashion.

I have not reached this conclusion simply on the basis of the simplicity and logic inherent to the metric system, for mere scientific elegance cannot justify the very real costs to society which conversion to the metric system will engender. The most carefully planned conversion program which legislation can provide, entailing massive education programs and gradual change, can only reduce consumer confusion and product orphanage to a minimum; it cannot eliminate it entirely. However, metric conversion will provide three large areas of

benefit to the United States which I am convinced outweigh its costs.

First, America's position in international trade will be substantially improved. In an era of balance-of-payments deficits which have tremendous impact on the entire national economy and therefore affect every American citizen, the importance of improving our trade posture cannot be overlooked. Though it is commonly supposed that the incompatibility of our system of measurement with metric is the major bar to greater trade, the discrepancy in the manner in which a measurement system describes a measure is not nearly so important as the manner in which a measurement system influences what measure will be employed for any given purpose. Thus metric conversion will induce increased American exports primarily in indirect fashion by encouraging American engineering standards to meet an international standard promoting interchangeability, and by enabling American industry to create for many products the engineering standards to be used throughout the world. The ability of America to compete in setting engineering standards for products ranging from autos to washing machines should have a substantial and favorable influence on our economy.

Second, metric conversion, once completed, should yield great savings at home because of its inherently great efficiency. Computation in metric terms is far simpler than in our customary measures because of its decimal basis. One expert has declared that the U.S. aerospace industry alone would save some \$65 million each year in engineering time by converting to the metric system. Consumers will also benefit, since metric weights and volume measures are much more easily compared than our customary equivalents, thus in effect facilitating unit pricing and comparison shopping.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, metric conversion is a step toward bringing the world closer together in yet another area. The United States is currently joined in its resistance to the metric system only by Barbados, Burma, Gambia, Ghana, Jamaica, Liberia, Muscat and Oman, Nauru, Sierra Leone, Southern Yemen, Tonga, and Trinidad. Our conversion will make a significant aspect of daily life truly international, and thereby remove one more barrier to understanding and harmony among the people of the world.

We cannot afford to inch along in our present haphazard fashion toward adopting the metric system. The bill I am introducing today provides for the design and implementation of a comprehensive plan by the National Metric Conversion Board to convert this Nation to the predominant use of the metric system over a period of 10 years. In keeping with the mandate of article I, section 8 of the Constitution, the plan is to be approved by the Congress as well as the President. Only by enacting this legislation can we assure that the United States will receive the advantages of metric conversion with a minimum of costs, fairly distributed. I expect that the Science and

Astronautics Committee will take quick and favorable action on this bill and that the Congress will soon thereafter culminate over a century of debate and convert to the metric system the weights and measures of the United States.

#### VIETNAM PEACE AGREEMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HANRAHAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's announcement of a peace agreement in Vietnam last night signals the end of a war which has lasted for almost a decade.

After repeated criticism from some Members of Congress for his past silence on the Vietnam situation, the President has achieved a "peace with honor." It is now apparent that the extreme sensitivity of the negotiations necessitated that veil of secrecy.

During these long months of negotiation the President has refused a settlement which would not insure the sovereignty of South Vietnam and the safe return of our POW's.

Now that "peace with honor" has been achieved the families of those men who gave their lives and fought so diligently will know that their efforts were not in vain. The right to self-determination, upon which this country was founded, will now be insured for the people of South Vietnam.

The most crucial of the conditions in the agreement for the United States is the withdrawal of the remaining 23,700 U.S. troops in South Vietnam and the return of all 587 known American prisoners of war in Indochina.

It is indeed unfortunate that President Lyndon B. Johnson could not have lived to have seen the peace he labored so long and hard to achieve.

It is now the responsibility of those of us in Congress to give the President the support he will need in the coming weeks to achieve our complete withdrawal and in turn to devote our energies toward the pressing domestic needs here at home.

#### THE OIL SHORTAGE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RAILSBACK) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, we are all experts now on the shortage of oil. We can talk at length and give specific examples about plants suspending operations, schools closing down, and trucking firms losing business because of inadequate supplies of oil. Unfortunately, few of us are really experts in solving this critical problem. Therefore, I found it most encouraging to learn what representatives of the National Oil Jobbers Council had to say about the oil shortage and what their proposed solutions are. Yesterday they not only held a meeting for interested Congressmen and staffers, but they personally visited as many of

their Members as possible. It was especially encouraging to me that most of the people who came by my office support legislation which I have cosponsored to suspend completely our present oil import quota system. The purposes of this program have been to protect the United States from a cutoff of its most important fuel by maintaining domestic production capacity sufficient to supply all domestic needs if foreign imports were discontinued, and to maintain the higher price of domestic crude oil and continue domestic incentives to producers. Despite all efforts, the supply of domestic oil has been failing to meet demand by increasing margins. It is imperative, therefore, that Congress act on such legislation at the earliest possible opportunity.

For the review of my colleagues and for further information about the Oil Jobbers' efforts, I ask unanimous consent that an article from Tuesday night's Evening Star be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD immediately following my remarks.

**IMPORTS FALL SHORT, FUEL DEALERS SAY**  
(By John Flalka)

An organization representing the nation's independent oil dealers complained on Capitol Hill today that recent changes made in the oil import program by President Nixon will not prevent further heating oil shortages and a possible gasoline shortage this spring.

The group, the National Oil Jobbers Council, which represents 1,300 dealers, also introduced a parade of local and state officials from the Midwest and New England who warned of further shortages.

Speaking at a meeting of congressmen and oil dealers held at the Cannon House Office Building, Jim Erchul, director of civil defense for Minnesota, said that last week the state ran out of extra supplies of oil. Unless it is able to locate oil in Canada that can be brought down by truck, the state will have a shortage of at least 10 million barrels by the end of February, he said.

Other state officials had a similar message. Col. John Plants, head of Michigan's civil defense unit, said "I don't care who caused it, I just wish people in Washington could figure out some way to solve it," he said, referring to a threat of shortage in his state next month.

In a statement released by the jobbers' group, it charged that dealers have been unable to get extra heating oil into the northern Midwest through existing pipelines.

Amerada Hess, a U.S. oil firm which was recently granted permission to bring in additional heating oil from its refinery in the Virgin Islands, the statement asserted, has so far refused to sell any of the extra oil to Midwest dealers.

John G. Buckley, head of the jobbers' oil supply committee, said that many dealers have been unable to get supplies of heating oil from Europe because European oil refiners are requiring one-year supply contracts and the President's recent action only lifted heating oil import controls for four months.

Buckley suggested that Congress should take the oil import controls away from the President and amend the program to bring in enough oil to prevent further shortages.

He said the jobbers expect "a substantial gasoline shortage in the spring and summer and an even more critical shortage of heating fuels next winter."

"Emergency measures, emergency allocations, last minute stop-gap measures, increasingly will fall short thereby creating chaotic

marketing conditions and shortages," he added.

**RURAL ENVIRONMENTAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. SEBELIUS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate this opportunity to join the distinguished chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, the Honorable W. R. "BOB" POAGE, in sponsoring legislation to continue the highly successful rural environmental assistance program.

The announcement to terminate funding for the rural environmental assistance program came as a shock to farmers and conservationists who have firsthand knowledge of the benefits of this cost-sharing program. With a limited Federal outlay as an incentive, over 1 million farmers annually invested their own money—many times far in excess of Federal funds—to build terraces, construct diversion dams, and institute pollution abatement practices to halt the flow of sediment into our streams.

From 1967 to 1971 an estimated 54,000 farmers participated one or more times in the REAP program in Kansas. In 1972 an estimated 12,000 separate farms were involved in the cost-sharing provisions of this program. The maximum payment of \$2,500 insures that the program will benefit the small farmer.

I would like to stress that the REAP program provides the incentive for farmers to establish costly soil and water conservation practices to fulfill their obligation to preserve our natural resources. The consumer benefits from this stewardship in the abundance of food and fiber that is produced and the fact that this food is available at a lower cost than in any other country.

The benefits of this program have been far-ranging and should be a source of pride for all Americans. REAP has practically eliminated the giant dust storms of the 1930's. Yet, there is much undone. Last year alone over 3 million acre-feet of silt poured into our streams. Contrasting this pollution problem with our urban pollution problem and we find there were only 104,000 acre-feet of sewage—virtually all from metropolitan areas. We have had Government programs to assist in trying to find answers to urban pollution. There must be equal treatment in our rural areas.

Despite recent income gains, the average income of farmers is only 80 percent of the median income of wage earners in the nonfarm sector. Without the investment incentives of the REAP cost-sharing programs, farmers will bypass costly conservation measures. This will not only complicate our efforts to clean up our environment, it also has long-range implications for our food supply already faced with unprecedented demand at home and abroad.

Let me point out what should be an obvious fact to my urban colleagues who are naturally interested in increased food costs. We hear a lot about proposed price

controls as a possible alternative to the food cost problem. Food costs are a problem now and the consumer is naturally concerned. However, let us consider the possibility of what kind of problem we will face if the housewife cannot find the food the consumer prefers on the counter. The answer to the food price dilemma rests with productivity and with fair prices for farm products. This, in turn is determined, in part, from the conservation and wise use of our natural resources. That is what the REAP program is all about and why rural spokesmen will point out that a program of this type does not represent a cost, but an investment—an investment that benefits both the farmer and the consumer.

While I am on the subject of cost, I think we should also consider the problem of unemployment that will occur as a result of the termination of this program. Terminating local ASCS positions will have a catalyst effect upon many small rural communities that will in turn cause unemployment for many families involved in contracting work. The effect in our small communities is magnified many times over and in turn reaches the heart of the communities—many of which are fighting last-ditch battles to stay economically viable.

While I endorse the administration's goal of holding the 1973 Federal budget to \$250 billion, termination of REAP cost-sharing assistance will not represent a savings—in the long run, it will represent a cost. We have an obvious need to establish priorities and trim the fat of wasteful Federal programs.

I am not saying the REAP program cannot be restructured, improved, or even cut back. What I am saying is that, before we do anything, we must restore funding. This arbitrary meat-ax approach simply terminates the rural commitment to clean up our environment and also destroys any effort we can make in a bipartisan manner to establish priorities in Federal outlays.

I am pleased that my colleagues, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. SHRIVER, Mr. SKUBITZ, and Mr. WINN, have joined in this effort in behalf of farmers, environmentalists, and consumers to restore funds for REAP.

I am very pleased to note that an article concerning this particular problem was recently published in the January 20, 1973, edition of the Christian Science Monitor. This article underscores the dividends that the REAP investment-incentive program has produced over the years. With unanimous consent, I would like to insert this article for the benefit of my colleagues who may not have firsthand knowledge of the success of the REAP program.

**FUND CUTOFF CRIMPS FARM PROJECTS**  
(By John Dillin)

CONYERS, GA.—Aubrey Harvey peered from his pickup truck at a new pond in Rockdale County and explained proudly: "This was a swamp infested with mosquitoes before it was cleaned up with federal help." Now, he said, the pond not only beautifies the area, but it helps control flooding on adjacent farms.

Mr. Harvey, a county director for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, was showing a



reporter areas aided by the federal farm-conservation program—a \$200-million-a-year project canceled last month by the Nixon administration.

During its 40-year lifespan, the project, known as the Rural Environmental Assistance Program (REAP), has aided millions of farmers and fostered soil conservation, flood prevention, and timber growing.

#### FUNDS HELD UP

Congress authorized \$225.5 million to continue the program this year, but the White House refused to spend the money.

Angry congressmen, including Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D) of Georgia, vow to demand explanations from the "faceless bureaucrats" in the White House who scuttled the program. There is even talk of torpedoing the budget for the White House staff unless this and other agricultural programs are carried out.

Senator Talmadge announced Wednesday that his agriculture committee will conduct hearings in two weeks to investigate the farm cutbacks. The Senator will insist that Dr. Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture, be the leadoff witness.

The tug-of-war, some have speculated, could grow into a battle over the constitutional powers between the President and the Congress. Either way, the abrupt cutoff has only underlined the declining political clout of the nation's farmers. For there are few Federal-assistance programs which have aided so many Americans over such a long period of time as REAP.

REAP, which before 1971 was known as the Agricultural Conservation Program, started with a whopping \$500 million appropriation during the dark depression year of 1933.

Since then, REAP has been scaled back; but even in 1971, the leanest year, 611,000 farmers received grants averaging \$239 each. Last year, Texas (\$17.5 million) got the most, Iowa (\$7.5 million) was the major Midwest recipient, while Southeastern states averaged \$4.5 million each. California got \$5 million.

No farmer may receive more than \$2,500 a year—few get anywhere near that amount—and the farmer must put up an equal amount from his own pocket.

#### BUTZ QUOTED

"It's not a subsidy in any sense," says an agriculture official in Washington. "It causes farmers to dig down deep to spend for something that should be done. It's really a question who is subsidizing whom."

White House officials, however, didn't see it that way, and this month Secretary Butz explained that farmers henceforth must finance their own conservation programs.

This should be possible, Dr. Butz noted, because farm incomes are rising. It will be administration policy to see that farm incomes continue upward through better prices in the marketplace rather than through federal aid. Increased exports should keep market prices attractive, he indicated.

REAP, in fact, is only one of several farm programs being curtailed by the administration with a possible federal saving of over \$1 billion this year.

Initial reaction in the countryside, though, is one of consternation—not only among farmers, but among the 20,000 independent contractors who work for them and build the ponds, terrace the hills, and clear the fields under the conservation program.

Land Improvement Contractors of America represents 1,800 of these small contractors in 24 states. From Chicago, Paul A. Bucha, director of LICA, said in a telephone interview:

"A lot of our members are going to be on

the relief rolls if this program is halted. Many of our members have only six or seven employees and do this work full time for farmers. To save a little money, the government will have ruined a lifetime occupation for many of these contractors."

He adds:

"I'm all for cutting government spending, and everybody wants to see somebody else's ox gored, and not his own. But we feel it's ridiculous for Congress to conduct hearings and determine priorities, and then somebody in the President's office suddenly says it's low priority and knocks it out. What's the purpose of all the hearings if the President's office is just going to determine it in a vacuum?"

In Rockdale County, Mr. Harvey's tour of REAP projects included an 85-acre expanse being grazed by cattle. "This won the conservation award for the country," said Mr. Harvey. The field had been eroded with clay gullies, he said, and was dotted with scraggly trees. Now most signs of the erosion were gone and it had a green cover of fescue grass.

"The owner spent \$6 for every \$1 the government spent," Mr. Harvey said. At the foot of the hill was a newly constructed pond (owner's share, \$5,000; government share, \$700) which Mr. Harvey said "helps control the water below here."

#### THE PRESIDENT HAS KEPT HIS PLEDGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. KEMP) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, with his historic announcement Tuesday evening, President Nixon has kept his 1968 pledge to the people of America.

He has secured peace, with honor, for America.

He has achieved all the U.S. objectives he outlined on May 8. These include: An internationally supervised cease-fire in Vietnam; establishment of a foundation for a just peace; no imposition of a coalition government; no abandonment of the South Vietnamese Government along with a reasonable chance for that Government to survive, pledged by the President; the removal of all American ground forces within 60 days.

The return of all American prisoners within 60 days; the accounting of all Americans missing in action in Indochina; South Vietnam's right to determine its own political future and, the credibility of America's commitment has been upheld.

Much of the credit for the President's announcement belongs to those Americans, including those who have been referred to as the "silent majority," who stood with the President for an honorable peace, throughout the country and in the Congress and to an even greater extent to the perseverance and courage of the President himself.

Time and again, in defense of his policies against relentless, harsh, and even vitriolic attack, he stood his ground and repeatedly made the crucial decisions, the result of which was the peace with honor he has announced.

Mr. Speaker, his announcement is vindication of the wisdom of his policy in holding out for an honorable peace—and

his refusal to accept a disguised and dishonorable defeat. Had it not been for the President's courage and steadfastness—during 4 years of unprecedented vilification and attack—the United States would not be honorably ending her involvement in the war.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Richard Nixon's leadership, often a very lonely responsibility, has helped to produce a settlement of which all Americans may be proud.

After Dr. Kissinger's address on television today, I talked on the telephone to the wife of one of my best friends and Occidental teammate who is missing in action since 1968, Air Force Maj. Don Lyon.

I wear his bracelet and that of Air Force Maj. Robert Rausch.

Mrs. Lyon told me:

Whether or not I ever get Don back, and God knows I pray I do, at least now I can live with whatever happens because America ended the war the right way.

#### THE VOLUNTARY MILITARY SPECIAL PAY ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. STEIGER) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I should like to congratulate two distinguished members of the Armed Services Committee (Mr. BENNETT and Mr. BOB WILSON) and my friend from Hawaii (Mr. MATSUNAGA) for their outstanding effort in obtaining the sponsorship of more than one-quarter of the House for the Voluntary Military Special Pay Act of 1973.

On June 30, 1973, the induction provisions of the Selective Service Act will finally expire, and we shall achieve what the Committee on Armed Services has described as "the commendable national goal of an all-volunteer force." The success of the Defense Department in meeting their timetable can largely be attributed to the leadership of Chairman HEBERT and the Armed Services Committee.

During the first session of the 92d Congress, the chairman was responsible for the enactment of the most important pay increase in history for our first-term GI's. The committee encouraged the development of improvements in recruiting practices, military housing, and the general quality of life for our men and women in uniform. At the end of the 2d session, the chairman brought the Special Pay Act to the floor of the House, where it won overwhelming approval, in a 337 to 35 vote. The Senate, however, was unable to act prior to adjournment.

Mr. Speaker, the Special Pay Act contains flexible incentives for a smooth transition to an effective volunteer force. I am confident that with the leadership the chairman and the committee have shown in the past, this legislation will receive early and favorable treatment in the 93d Congress.

I have prepared a brief fact sheet on the Voluntary Military Special Pay Act

of 1973, and I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the Record immediately following my remarks:

#### THE VOLUNTARY MILITARY SPECIAL PAY ACT OF 1973

The Special Pay Act will provide the Secretary of Defense with authority for the payment of certain incentive pays in order to attract and retain members of the Armed Forces with special qualifications and skills.

The recent military pay raise made military compensation reasonably competitive with pay in the civilian economy. In normal times the Department of Defense should satisfy the majority of its manpower needs without additional monetary incentives. There are, however, at all times, certain skills and professions which may command a premium because they are in short supply both in the military and civilian sectors. This presents a dynamic problem because skills requiring a premium will change as will the level necessary for a specific skill.

The Special Pay Act provides the authority to the Secretary of Defense to offer incentives to specific volunteers in return for a service commitment for a stipulated number of years. Incentives offered can be readily started, stopped or modified to reflect changing needs of the Armed Forces for quantity, quality and experience level of members in specific skills. They are a traditional military compensation tool. Recent experience of the Department of Defense with a variable bonus applied in the flexible manner envisioned for the future has proved most successful.

#### A. ENLISTMENT INCENTIVE

Current law authorizes enlistment incentives up to \$3,000 for the combat arms, but not for technical specialties. The Special Pay Act will eliminate this discrepancy and allow the military to compete with private industry to attract highly qualified skilled personnel in needed areas of employment.

Existing pay rates will attract most of the volunteers required to man most military skills. However, certain selected skills (such as an Air Force precision photo systems repairman) may require an additional incentive to attract the necessary volunteers. The skills requiring special pay, and the amount of pay required, will vary over time. Since it is not possible to predict the attraction incentive required a cost-effective program will involve varying the amounts of special pay and the skill categories to which it attaches.

#### B. SELECTIVE REENLISTMENT PROGRAM

Certain trained military personnel can command a wage well above the average on the civilian market. In some military skills, the Government has spent well in excess of \$20,000 in training costs. Individuals can command salaries in the civilian nuclear industry in ranges of \$17,000 to \$20,000 per year after completing their first enlistment. These persons are now leaving the service after receiving expensive training to find employment in civilian industries.

The armed services are thus confronted with the necessity of not only training additional personnel, but also with an increased shortage of experienced personnel to maintain sophisticated equipment. Currently, we have a variety of laws to cope with these problems, the Regular Reenlistment Bonus, the Variable Reenlistment Bonus and Shortage Specialty Pay (Proficiency Pay). However, even in combination, these incentives have not proved to be completely effective in solving our enlisted retention problems because they don't result in spending money where the problem is. And in one major area, that of first-term reenlistments, they

presently require payment in many instances where there is no manning problem. This bill combines the most desirable features of the Regular Reenlistment and Variable Reenlistment Bonuses into the Selective Reenlistment Bonus. The cost effectiveness of these incentive dollars is improved. The average bonus paid to an individual serving in a shortage skill would be about \$6000. The Department of Defense plans to phase out its payment of the Shortage Specialty Pay (Proficiency Pay) as the Selective Reenlistment bonus proves its effectiveness. A member who reenlists in a skill where no shortage exists (excepting those in the forces now) would not receive a bonus. This actually should result, by Fiscal Year 1978, in a cost saving to the Government of approximately \$150 million in savings under the existing system. But it must be pointed out that this year the net additional cost will be approximately \$2 million.

#### C. INCENTIVES FOR OFFICERS

The problem of retention of certain officers having critical specialties has presented difficulties in the past. Authority has been given to the Navy to give additional incentive pay for officers qualified in the nuclear submarine service, and the House of Representatives has passed a bill to provide incentive pay to retain lawyers. This bill would authorize the Secretary of Defense to offer a Variable Incentive of up to \$4,000 per year to officers who execute a written agreement to extend their tours beyond the first obligated tour. It would be offered only at times and in amounts needed to solve officer retention problems in a specific skill.

#### D. INCENTIVE SELECTED RESERVE OF THE READY RESERVE

When the draft was the major source of military manpower, many young men were motivated to join the Guard and Reserve as a means of avoiding the draft and active military service. The combined National Guard and Reserve Force drill strength has averaged about 50,000 below the Congressionally mandated minimum of 976,599. It is estimated that this shortage will be higher still next year unless early and positive action is taken to stimulate enlistment and reenlistments in the Guard and Reserve.

The Special Pay Act would authorize an Enlistment Incentive of up to \$1,100 for a six-year enlistment of a non-prior service individual. It would also authorize a Reenlistment Incentive of up to \$2,200 for a critical skill; or \$1,100 for a non-critical skill for a six-year reenlistment. For a lesser reenlistment, the amounts would be reduced. The Committee which studied the matter included language directing the Secretary concerned to insure that there would be no discrimination in the payments authorized based on geographic location. For example, if there is a shortage of airplane mechanics, each person enlisting, reenlisting or extending his enlistment, who has that skill, will be paid the same amount regardless of whether he lives in Mississippi or Michigan. The bill limits the authority for payment to those whose period of military service does not exceed 12 years, and further puts a ceiling limitation that no one individual can collect this incentive pay in an amount greater than \$3,300.

#### E. MEDICAL SPECIAL PAY

##### Medical special pay and bonus

Traditionally, the most difficult officer group to retain on active duty beyond their first obligated tour is that of the health care professionals. One of the most important disincentives for military service for these professionals is caused by the relatively high earnings available to young medical and dental specialists in the civilian sector.

While it is almost impossible to measure the pay of physicians and dentists in the civilian sector, it is clearly established that civilian specialists in the medical profession can expect to achieve pre-tax annual net earnings of approximately \$40,000 shortly after they enter private practice. Civilian dentists can expect to earn approximately \$30,000 annually at a similar career stage. Comparable salaries are already available for certain other health professionals such as optometrists.

The problem that the military now faces in obtaining and retaining sufficient doctors will, in all likelihood, be alleviated within the next seven to ten years. This is probable as the number of medical graduates increase from the expanding medical schools of this country, coupled with the scholarship provisions contained in Public Law 92-426, and the military medical university which, in ten years, will also begin producing doctors and dentists who will have an obligation to serve in the military for ten years. However, during this interim period, relief must be granted unless we go to a policy of utilizing civilian health facilities, particularly for military dependents and military retirees and their dependents. This has been costed and represents a much higher cost to the Federal Government than the plan envisioned in this bill.

The objective of this bill is to eliminate the gap between the incomes of the civilian and military health career professionals. It does this by improving the rates in the special pay for physicians and dentists and by substituting an improved variable retention incentive in place of the former continuation pay. The proposed special pay for physicians and dentists amends existing authority by increasing the rates of special pay for officers with at least two years of active duty from \$150 per month to \$350 per month rate until he has completed at least ten years of active duty. In addition, it makes the special pay permanent. The law today links the duration of this special pay to the Military Selective Service Act.

The incentive for officers of the armed forces in health professions enables the Secretary of Defense to offer a variable incentive, dependent on the severity of the manning problem to officers who execute a written agreement to remain on active duty for a specified number of years. The combined effect of the special pay and the incentive is expected to solve the health professions retention problem. This will permit a significant reduction in the number of professionals required—a corresponding reduction in training investment in improved care for the armed forces. The House Armed Services Committee included the health professionals in each of the uniformed services based on testimony from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that the Office of Management and Budget desired that the 5,800 commissioned officers of the Public Health Service should continue to be entitled to the same rate of pay including special pays that are available to members of the armed services.

The Committee action, including the Public Health Service, recognizes that the health of the nation is as important as its security. Further, it felt that the Public Health Service should not be placed at an obvious disadvantage in not having the ability in a free market to reasonably compete for the health professionals that it must attract.

#### SUMMARY: ADVANTAGES OF THIS PROGRAM

1. Experience with the bonus for enlisted infantry, artillery and armor shows direct effect in increasing enlistments.
2. Cost-effective: extends years of initial or subsequent obligation, thus reducing re-



quirement to train new individuals—pays for itself and saves money besides.

3. Cost-effective: paid only to selected groups in short supply when needed, rather than wasteful payment to groups who are already in sufficient supply.

4. Cost-effective: it focuses the money on the decision points, rather than ephemeral future payments.

5. While pay raises in 1971 have been generally sufficient—special pay is needed in hard to attract and retain skilled individuals. Thus, it seeks to maximize quality.

6. Establishes principle of paying a wage-differential related to ability and skill, not just rank. As the House Committee noted, the incentive is attractive to the individual, it

provides him a guaranteed amount offered in a lump sum of a sizable amount. In this light, the incentives provided may be viewed as a prepaid wage differential based on the qualifications of the individuals and the needs of the Armed Forces.

7. Insures smooth transition period into all-volunteer force.

8. No run-out costs, as some current programs contain. Can be started and stopped efficiently.

9. Final piece of compensation legislation in the all-volunteer force program.

10. Full package concept—covers the full needs anticipated, each part relying on the others to supplement it so no important sector is discriminated against.

#### BUDGET COSTS [In millions of dollars]

Program	Fiscal year—				
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Enlistment bonus....	42.6	89.1	135.6	139.5	139.5
Selective reenlistment bonus.....	2.3	1.5	-9.2	-32.6	-83.4
Officer active duty agreements.....	20.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
Selected Reserve enlistment/reenlistment bonus.....	85.4	107.1	139.7	97.3	108.9
Health professions.....	75.0	95.0	105.0	112.0	112.0
Total, DOD.....	225.3	317.7	396.1	341.2	302.0

#### TRAINING COST SAVINGS BY EMPLOYMENT OF THE ENLISTMENT INCENTIVE TO GAIN ADDITIONAL INITIAL OBLIGATED SERVICE

Present	Training cost	Cost per productive man-year (3-year enlistment) <sup>1</sup>	Cost per productive man-year (4-year bonus enlistment) <sup>2</sup>	Training cost savings per each 4-year bonus enlistment	Proposed	Training cost	Cost per productive man-year (4-year enlistment) <sup>3</sup>	Cost per productive man-year (6-year bonus enlistment) <sup>4</sup>	Training cost savings per each 6-year enlistment
Army MOS:					Air Force AFSC:				
11B—Infantryman.....	\$9,853	\$3,941	\$3,244	\$2,418	316X0—Missile systems analysis.....	\$13,927	\$4,285	\$2,843	\$7,570
11E—Armor crewman.....	16,764	6,706	5,218	5,208	404X0—Precision photo systems repairman.....	8,361	2,389	1,702	3,778
13B—Field artillery crewman.....	15,908	6,363	4,974	4,862	904X0—Medical laboratory specialist.....	18,966	5,836	3,803	10,673

<sup>1</sup> 3-year enlistment. Productive time is 2½ years because 6 months are devoted to initial training.

<sup>2</sup> 4-year enlistment with \$1,500 bonus. Productive time is 3½ years because 6 months are devoted to initial training.

<sup>3</sup> 4-year enlistment. Productive time is 3½ years (404X0) and 3¼ years (316X0 and 904X0) because 6 and 9 months respectively are devoted to initial training.

<sup>4</sup> 6-year enlistment with \$1,000 bonus. Productive time is 5½ or 5¼ years because similar time is devoted to initial training.

#### DR. SCHLESINGER LEAVES AEC

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Idaho (Mr. HANSEN) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I received with mixed reactions the news of the appointment of Dr. James R. Schlesinger to the position of Director of the CIA. While I harbor no doubts concerning Dr. Schlesinger's ability to fill that position exceptionally well, I do feel that the Atomic Energy Commission is losing an outstanding Chairman.

During the 17 months Dr. Schlesinger has served the Atomic Energy Commission, I had the opportunity to work with him on many matters, but on two occasions I had the particular pleasure to be more closely associated with him.

One venture was to a remote island in the Aleutians. During the Cannikin underground nuclear test of November 1971, my colleague CRAIG HOSMER and I joined Dr. Schlesinger and his wife and two of his children in the test bunker on Amchitka Island. After the successful test, which was an important step in the development of the Safeguard defensive system, Congressman Hosmer and I accompanied Dr. Schlesinger in a helicopter tour of the island and an inspection of ground zero.

Dr. Schlesinger's decision to be closely identified with the controversial Cannikin test was his own, and associates said he took his wife and two daughters to Amchitka to demonstrate to the world that the AEC was fully confident the test could be conducted in complete safety.

My visit to the test site reflected the confidence I have in Dr. Schlesinger and to the dedication he has inspired

throughout the AEC and its many important programs. I share the opinion President Nixon has expressed regarding Jim Schlesinger. After Cannikin the President noted—

Much has been written about the strength of a man, but few men during the past decade have withstood so calmly the level of pressure exerted against you concerning Cannikin. The test was a success, of course—just as you had predicted and, equally important, the test showed most conclusively that the AEC had indeed "done its homework" on the environmental aspects.

Another occasion when we spent several days together was in July 1972, when Dr. Schlesinger visited the national reactor testing station in Idaho. At that time he lucidly outlined the Nation's energy predicament and reaffirmed the AEC's commitment to meet the energy challenge, as well as the environmental challenge. In dealing with what he appropriately calls the "energy dilemma," Dr. Schlesinger reminded the Idaho audience that—

The public has a right to choose among the energy alternatives, but the haphazard choice, based on immediate emotion, is potentially crippling.

He has rendered a great service by placing the choices and their implications in perspective.

While on this trip to Idaho Falls, Dr. Schlesinger and four of his children spent 3 days with me on a backpacking trip into the Bighorn Crags of the Idaho Primitive Area.

Based on my personal knowledge of Jim Schlesinger, I am confident that he would serve his country effectively no matter what the task. A Harvard-trained economist who once showed the Department of Defense how to trim \$6 billion from its budget, Jim Schlesinger assumed

control of the AEC at a time when the agency was sagging. It was in difficulty with environmental and conservation groups, was being criticized for lack of candor, and was under pressure from industry to unsnarl the burgeoning stack of applications for nuclear powerplants.

Schlesinger, who has the reputation of being a tough, driving administrator, went to work with zeal. On his second day as AEC Chairman, he told one senior staff member—

I don't know what the working hours have been around this place, but I sort of like the sound of 7:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.

An enthusiastic birdwatcher, Schlesinger has long been concerned over modern society's encroachment on nature. He welcomed criticism from environmental and conservation groups, and convened meetings with leaders of these organizations during his first months in office.

He set about to restructure the Commission's organization, both the operations staff and the regulatory staff, frequently going outside the agency to fill key positions. He took a personal role in recruiting because many of the people he wanted—and got—were taking salary cuts to join government.

The Commission bureaucracy—which Dr. Schlesinger once privately described as the most talented in Government—reacted initially to the strong Schlesinger approach with apprehension, but soon staff morale was going up, and a key Commission official commented—

We've got the damndest *esprit de corps* in Washington. The man is tough and can be harsh—but he has turned this agency completely around and the people here are with him.

Although recognized for his strong environmental posture at the AEC, Dr.

Schlesinger also commands respect throughout the national security community.

As director of strategic studies at the Rand Corp. at Santa Monica, Calif., from 1963 to 1969, he specialized in strategic analysis with special emphasis on nuclear weapons. He also served as project leader of a study on nuclear proliferation conducted by Rand for the White House.

In December 1969, Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, chairman of the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations, introduced testimony by Dr. Schlesinger, then Acting Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, as follows:

... The subcommittee is well aware of Dr. Schlesinger's ability to cut through to the heart of problems. His memorandum on "Uses and Abuses of Analysis" contributed to this inquiry in April 1968 and was widely read and reflected upon in this country and abroad in both government and university circles. I recall in particular his closing comment in that memorandum: "Admittedly, analyses vary substantially in quality. Each should be taken with a large grain of salt. On the other hand, if one does not demand too much of it, analysis will prove to be a most serviceable instrument."

At the same hearing, subcommittee member Senator EDWARD J. GURNEY commented:

I would also say it is most refreshing to see a man in your area, Dr. Schlesinger—budget-making and systems analysis—with the awareness of the political realities of life which you have obviously shown in your statement. I am not talking about partisan politics, but rather the politics of people.

The New York Times, commenting on the scope of Dr. Schlesinger's assignment as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said—

He faces the dual problem of assuring conservationists that the AEC does care about the environment and, at the same time, assuring ardent nuclear energy proponents in Congress that he will not limit nuclear progress to satisfy conservationists. Some skeptics doubt that he can reconcile the conflicts, but he has the credentials.

Reviewing Dr. Schlesinger's first few months as Chairman of the Commission, Nucleonics Week, a McGraw-Hill publication, quoted an AEC official as saying:

When Schlesinger came out, it was like Patton assuming command of a beaten army ... Schlesinger swept in here with a new sense of purpose and bent the agency to his will overnight.

The article added that—

The Commission has changed decisively from an unabashed promoter of nuclear energy to an ombudsman weighing environmental problems ... Schlesinger has treated the industry—and particularly the utilities—with the benign severity of a man house-training a puppy, and there have been yelps and snarls aplenty. But, while it is hard to accurately monitor the feelings of the industry, there seems now to be a consensus that most of the new directions taken by Schlesinger needed to be taken. Generally, the more knowledgeable and the more sophisticated the industry observers, the more favorable their reaction to Schlesinger.

Washington Post writer Thomas O'Toole wrote on July 9, 1972, after an interview:

Few men speak more straightforwardly about the nation's rising energy needs than James R. Schlesinger. ... He briefs the White House, lectures the Treasury Department, scolds industry and testifies before Congress on it. He's concerned with all forms and aspects of energy—not just atomic ... He's regarded on Capitol Hill and in the White House as a man who's truly interested in finding the right solutions to our energy problems.

Dr. Schlesinger was born in New York City on February 15, 1929. At Harvard, where he majored in economics, he earned three degrees, including the Ph. D. in 1956. While at Harvard, he married Rachel Mellinger, a Radcliffe College student from Springfield, Ohio. They have eight children and presently reside in Arlington, Va.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will miss the invigorating appearances of Dr. James R. Schlesinger. Whenever he came over to testify, I, for one, knew we were in for an interesting session. And when his testimony was completed, we knew where the Atomic Energy Commission stood. I regret that he is leaving the atomic energy field, but wish him success in his new assignment.

#### MAURICE H. THATCHER: INSPIRATION FOR THE YOUTH OF OUR COUNTRY

THE SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOD) is recognized for 30 minutes.

MR. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest compensations for being a Member of the Congress is the privilege of knowing so many present and former colleagues in this distinguished body. Among the latter was former Representative Maurice H. Thatcher, of the Louisville district of Kentucky, who died at his residence in Washington at the age of 102 on January 6, 1973, the 54th anniversary of the death of former President Theodore Roosevelt, the key figure in launching the Panama Canal.

For many years the sole surviving Member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, which supervised construction of the Panama Canal, and as the head of the Department of Civil Administration in the Canal Zone Government, 1910-13, Governor Thatcher was well acquainted with leading Panamanian personages in the Panama revolution of 1903 that brought about the secession of that country from Colombia. He was on the isthmus during the time of peak construction of the great interoceanic link and knew various leaders of the United States in that vast undertaking, such as President William Howard Taft, George W. Goethals, William L. Sibert, David D. Gaillard, and William Crawford Gorgas.

Throughout his congressional tenure—1923-33—Governor Thatcher served with outstanding distinction on the House Committee on Appropriations and was later described by one of his former colleagues on the committee, its late chairman, Clarence Cannon, of Missouri, as the "ablest Member of the Congress" with whom he had served

Thus, long before first meeting Governor Thatcher on May 12, 1956, when I addressed the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C., on the subject of "John F. Stevens: Basic Architect of the Panama Canal," he was already a great tradition on the isthmus and a highly respected former Member of the Congress.

Because of his many contributions while in his Canal Zone position, his sustained interest in the Panama Canal after leaving the isthmus, and various beneficent contributions to the people of our country, the Commonwealth of Kentucky, the zone territory, and Panama, the Congress in 1961, under the leadership of his former colleague, the late Chairman Cannon, unanimously designated the great new bridge across the Pacific entrance of the Panama Canal at Balboa as the Thatcher Ferry Bridge.

An able lawyer, and gifted leader, especially in the field of conservation and matters of historical interest, he was also a poet with the abundance of genius. He has left a rich legacy of writings of research value that are enshrined in the Thatcher collection in the House of the Temple of the Scottish Rite Masons, Southern jurisdiction, in Washington. The most comprehensive summary of the life and achievements of Governor Thatcher was the program of the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C., on August 15, 1970, quoted by Senator STROM THURMOND in an address to the U.S. Senate on September 9, 1970. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 91st Cong., second sess., vol. 116, pt. 23, Sept. 9, 1970, pp. 30960-67).

Acutely aware of current events as well as those in the past, Governor Thatcher not only kept his old friends but made new ones as he grew in age and stature; and was especially interested in young people whom he always encouraged.

A courageous as well as thoughtful man, when he saw the end of his eventful life approaching, and in line with precedent, he participated in the preparation of his own obituary, which supplies an authoritative summary of his major contributions and served as source material for numerous published news stories on his life following his death.

In Washington, the funeral of Governor Thatcher was held on January 9, 1973, in the chapel of the Lee Funeral Home, with Dr. Edward Gardiner Latch, Chaplain of the U.S. House of Representatives, as the officiating clergyman. This part was followed by the Scottish Rite Rose Croix funeral service conducted by Peter Burich, Thomas H. Dyer, and William D. Jackson, all 33d degree Masons.

A second service was held at the graveside located on a commanding hilltop in historic Frankfort Cemetery that affords a dramatic view of the State capitol of Kentucky and that is not far from the grave of Daniel Boone. Dr. Robert J. Laughlin, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Frankfort, officiated.

It was singularly appropriate that the eulogy for Governor Thatcher in both ceremonies was given by Capt. Miles P. DuVal, Jr., U.S. Navy retired, the distin-



guished historian of the Panama Canal, with which project the Governor was so long associated.

In order that the career of Governor Thatcher may be suitably recorded in the permanent annals of the Congress and thus serve as an inspiration to the youth of our country, I quote as part of my remarks the obituary notice which he helped to write, the eulogy by Captain DuVal and three of the major newspaper obituaries as follows:

#### HON. MAURICE HUDSON THATCHER

Hon. Maurice Hudson Thatcher, last surviving Member of the Isthmian Canal Commission that supervised construction of the Panama Canal, former Governor of the Canal Zone, and former Member of Congress from Kentucky died on 6 January 1973 at his residence in Washington at the unusual age of 102 years with clear mental perception to the last, ending a notable career of dedicated public service of more than 80 years. His wife, the former Anne Bell Chinn, died in 1960.

Born on August 15, 1870, and educated in public and private schools of Kentucky, Governor Thatcher in early life decided upon a career in the law and politics. His first important public position was Clerk of Butler County Circuit Court, Kentucky, 1892-1895. Others were Assistant Attorney General of Kentucky, 1898-1900; Assistant U.S. District Attorney, Western District of Kentucky, 1901-1906; State Inspector and Examiner of Kentucky, 1908-1910; Member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1910-1913, with duty as Civil Governor of the Canal Zone; Member of the Board of Safety of Louisville, 1917-1919, and that City's Department Counsel, 1919-1923; and Member of Congress from the Louisville District of Kentucky, 1923-1933.

While a Member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, Governor Thatcher served at the time of peak construction (1910-1913), and with great distinction. While a Member of the Congress, he was throughout his terms of office on the powerful House Committee on Appropriations rendering important services for his district, state and nation, including the Panama Canal and its employees.

Among the pioneer legislative services in the Congress for which he was responsible were: The establishment across the Pacific Entrance of the Panama Canal at Balboa of a toll-free ferry and the construction of a highway in the Canal Zone connecting the ferry with the road system of Panama, both named in his honor; the building of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in the City of Panama to house the activities of the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine; the creation of the Mammoth Cave National Park, the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, and the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site; and the construction of the George Rogers Clark Memorial Bridge at Louisville, the first such bridge project authorized on a self-liquidating basis.

After leaving the Congress in 1933, Governor Thatcher devoted his life to beneficent endeavors. He has served as General Counsel (1939 to date), and Vice President (1948-1969) of the Gorgas Memorial Institute that supervises the work of the Laboratory in Panama—all without compensation.

During his life, Governor Thatcher received many honors. Among them were the naming by Congress in 1961 of the great bridge across the Panama Canal at Balboa to replace the Ferry, as the Thatcher Ferry Bridge; and in 1969, his election by the Gorgas Institute for life as its Honorary President, a position previously held only by Presidents of the United States.

In addition to his many official accomplishments, Governor Thatcher has written an extensive collection or verse of intrinsic

merit, including poems on the Pilgrims, the Panama Canal, National Parks, and United States History. His library, writings and papers of historical value, scrap books, and memorabilia, have been placed in the Thatcher Collection at the Temple of the Scottish Rite Masons, Southern Jurisdiction, Washington, D.C., where they will be available for future researchers into his life and achievements. They include much of value concerning the U.S. Congress, the National Park System, the story of the Pilgrims, the Gorgas Institute and the Panama Canal.

Surviving relatives include Howard R. Thatcher of Baltimore, Maryland, and by marriage, Mrs. Prue Mason Darnell and Franklin C. Mason of Frankfort, Kentucky, and Mrs. Robert L. Montague III of Alexandria, Virginia.

A funeral service will be held at 1:30 PM o'clock on 9 January 1973 at the Lee Funeral Home in Washington, D.C., and later at the graveside in the Frankfort Cemetery, Frankfort, Kentucky, with interment alongside his wife.

#### REMARKS AT THE FUNERAL OF HON.

MAURICE H. THATCHER

(By Capt. Miles P. Duval, Jr.)

Friends and Relatives of Governor Thatcher, Ladies and Gentlemen: As a close associate of Governor Thatcher for many years, it was my privilege to have shared various labors with one whose high order of ability, extensive activity, broad vision, and eloquence, caused him to be known as a universal man.

Twelve years ago on the occasion of the funeral of his wife, the former Anne Bell Chinn, he stood before a gathering of friends and, with perfect control, paid her a remarkable tribute. As many of the thoughts then expressed by this dedicated and gifted man are in two verses of sonnets composed soon afterward in her memory, apply with equal force to him, I shall read them:

GOODBYE, MY DEAR, GOODBYE TO ANNE BELL.\*  
Goodbye, my dear, goodbye. Long have we  
fared

The course of life in mutual helpfulness,  
Love, and esteem; and together we have  
shared

Full many the events that cheer and bless.  
We've known the stress of struggle, and the  
touch

And joy of something done along the way.  
I owe you much, O very, very much—  
Far more than gratitude can ever pay.

There yet remains, to lend me needed  
strength,

The mem'ry of yourself and all your worth;  
Too many were your gifts to name at length;  
You were the One I knew, in all the Earth,  
That matched the standard that I raised to  
test

All that which in a helpmeet seemeth  
best.

In briefness only would I wish to speak  
Of what beyond the grave may lie or ope;  
The answers I have sought, and ever seek;  
But have them not—the reason nurtures  
hope

And broadens faith; and thereby, thinking  
so,

I leave the matter thus, trusting the  
Power

That gave to Man his mortal life, to know  
What's wise and just—when comes the  
final hour.

Within your breast, my dear, there gently  
burned,

Thru all the years, the purest, noblest  
flame;

A blessed immortality you've earned,  
Which should be yours, what'er the form  
or frame.

Goodbye, my dear, goodbye; and now I pray  
To join you later in a new Today.

\* Mrs. Thatcher passed away October 10, 1960.

All who knew Governor Thatcher well recognized his outstanding qualities and appreciated the extent of his accomplishments, which are recorded in the principal libraries of the Nation. His own library, writings and papers of historical value, scrap books and memorabilia are enshrined in the Thatcher Collection in the Temple of the Scottish Rite Masons in Washington, where they are available for researchers of future generations.

Thus, Governor Thatcher's life illustrates again the truth of President Benjamin Harrison's statement:

"Great lives do not go out. They go on."<sup>1</sup>

[From the New York Times, Jan. 7, 1973]

MAURICE THATCHER DIES AT 102; OLDEST  
FORMER REPRESENTATIVE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—Maurice H. Thatcher, the oldest surviving former member of Congress, died here today at the age of 102.

Mr. Thatcher, who served in the House of Representatives from 1923 to 1933, was also the last surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, which oversaw the construction of the Panama Canal.

Born in Chicago in 1870, Mr. Thatcher grew up in the Green River section of Western Kentucky. At the age of 22, he was elected clerk of the circuit court for Butler county.

After studying law, he joined the state government and in 1898 was appointed an assistant attorney general for Kentucky.

On April 12, 1910, President William Howard Taft, searching for a replacement member for the Isthmian Canal Commission, chose Mr. Thatcher to head the Department of Civil Administration and serve as the civil governor of the Canal Zone. On May 6, he sailed from New York for the Isthmus with his bride of two days, the former Anne Bell Chinn.

During the period of the canal's construction, Mr. Thatcher witnessed the first non-stop transcontinental airplane flight when a small seaplane flew in April, 1913, from Panama Bay to the Atlantic entrance of the canal.

#### FRIEND OF GORGAS

He also became friendly with Col. William C. Gorgas, the canal's chief sanitation officer and a pioneer in the conquest of Yellow Fever. During construction of the canal, Gorgas kept the spread of tropical diseases to a minimum.

In 1922, Mr. Thatcher was elected to the House as a Republican Representative from Louisville. He served on the powerful Appropriations Committee. "The Congressional arena, has indeed been my briar patch."

In the House, he sponsored legislation to expand foreign and domestic airmail service; to convert the temporary World War I Camp Knox into the permanent military post of Fort Knox, and to create Mammoth Cave National Park.

Mr. Thatcher never forgot the Canal Zone. He sponsored legislation to establish a free ferry across the Pacific entrance of the canal and a highway connecting the ferry with the road system in Panama. The ferry and highway were named in Mr. Thatcher's honor. In 1962, the ferry was replaced by a bridge also named for him.

#### SUPPORTED DISEASE RESEARCH

In 1928, he introduced a bill to establish and fund the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in Panama City for tropical-disease research.

Mr. Thatcher was nominated for a sixth House term in 1932, but decided instead to run for the Senate. He was defeated, but remained in Washington to practice law.

Here he was chosen vice president and general counsel of the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine, which supervises the work of the Gorgas laboratory. He held these posts until 1969

<sup>1</sup> Address at Mount McGregor, N.Y., August 20, 1891.

when at the age of 99, he was elected honorary life president.

Asked in an interview a few years ago for his secret of long life, Mr. Thatcher replied:

"I don't eat meat. I eat vegetables, eggs and milk. I don't drink, I don't smoke, and I don't drink tea or coffee."

He was a member of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, the Sons of the American Revolution and the Panama Society of Washington.

Mrs. Thatcher died in 1960 at the age of 84. They had no children.

[From the Washington Star and News,  
Jan. 8, 1973]

MAURICE THATCHER DIES; EX-CONGRESSMAN,  
102

Former Rep. Maurice H. Thatcher, 102, the only surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission and once civil governor of the Panama Canal Zone, died Saturday at his home on 16th Street NW.

Mr. Thatcher also was the oldest surviving member of Congress. A Republican, he represented the Kentucky district that included Louisville from 1923 to 1933. He was nominated for reelection to the House in 1932 but gave up that nomination to seek his party's nomination for the Senate instead. He failed to win the Senate nomination.

After leaving Congress he practiced law here until about two years ago.

Mr. Thatcher was born in Chicago, but when he was 4 years old his family moved to Butler County, Ky., and settled near Morgantown.

After working as a farmer he was employed by a newspaper and by several county offices. From 1882 until he resigned in 1896 to study law, he was clerk of the Butler County Court.

#### KENTUCKY OFFICIAL

He began practicing law in Frankfort, Ky., in 1898 and later that year began serving as assistant attorney general of Kentucky. He moved to Louisville next and from 1901 to 1906 was assistant U.S. attorney for the western district of Kentucky. From 1908 to 1910 he was the state examiner and inspector for Kentucky.

President William Howard Taft appointed Mr. Thatcher to the Isthmian Canal Commission in 1910 and also as head of the department of civil administration of the Canal Zone. The canal opened in 1914. The only bridge over the canal carries his name.

Mr. Thatcher next returned to his law practice in Louisville, where he later served on the board of public safety and as department counsel for Louisville.

While in Congress, Mr. Thatcher was active in supporting legislation providing Canal area improvements. He returned to the Canal Zone on a number of visits, including a 1956 trip and another in 1958 that was held on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt.

Mr. Thatcher also sponsored legislation that expanded the foreign and domestic air-mail services, converted Camp Knox, Ky., of World War I into the permanent military post there, created the Mammoth Cave National Park and expanded the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Site and the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery.

He also sponsored legislation establishing a free ferry across the Pacific entrance of the Panama Canal and a highway connecting it to the Panama road system.

Mr. Thatcher was the author of legislation in 1928 that established and continued operation of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in Panama City. Named for his friend, Col. William C. Gorgas, a pioneer in yellow fever work, the laboratory is prominent in tropical disease research.

Mr. Thatcher served seven terms as presi-

dent of the District Society of Mayflower Descendants and also was counselor and deputy governor of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants.

His wife, the former Anne Bell Chinn of Frankfort, Ky., died in 1960. At one time she was a member of the governing board of the League of Republican Women of the District.

Services will be held at 1:30 p.m. tomorrow at the Lee Funeral Home, 4th Street and Massachusetts Avenue NW. It is requested that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the Scottish Rite Foundation, 1773 16th St. NW, for an educational fund.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 7, 1973]  
EX-REPRESENTATIVE MAURICE THATCHER, 102,  
DIES

(By Martin Weil)

Maurice H. Thatcher, who helped supervise construction of the Panama Canal, served five terms as a congressman from Kentucky and practiced law here until he was 100 years old, died here yesterday at 102.

Mr. Thatcher died in his home at 1801 16th St. NW, where he had been bedridden almost constantly since suffering a fractured thigh on July 15.

From 1910 to 1913, during the period of peak activity, Mr. Thatcher served as one of the seven members of the Isthmian Canal Commission appointed to superintend and carry out the construction of the Panama Canal.

In his four years on the commission, Mr. Thatcher headed the department of civil administration of the Canal Zone, and was known as the Zone's civil governor.

In recent years, he was reported to be the last surviving member of the canal commission, the chairman of which had been Lt. Col. George W. Goethals, the celebrated Army engineer who brought the project to completion in 1914.

When Mr. Thatcher returned to Panama in 1964 at the age of 95 to help mark the canal's 50th anniversary, he was hailed by a local newspaper as the "Grand Old Man of the Panama Canal."

While serving as a Republican congressman from Kentucky from 1923 to 1933, Mr. Thatcher continued to take an interest in the development of the canal and in the welfare of those who built and operated it.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, he helped make available funds for improvements in the Canal Zone, and for annuities for construction workers and other canal employees.

A ferry across the Pacific entrance of the canal, for which he obtained federal funds, was named the Thatcher Ferry. The bridge, dedicated in 1962 on the site of the ferry, was named the Thatcher Ferry Bridge.

In addition, an important highway in the canal area was named for him.

Moreover, it was Mr. Thatcher who is credited with enactment of the measure creating in Panama the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory of the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine.

It is named for William Crawford Gorgas, the Army doctor who helped make possible the construction of the canal by destroying the mosquitoes that carried yellow fever and malaria. Mr. Thatcher and Dr. Gorgas served together on the canal commission.

After closing his congressional career by making an unsuccessful race for the Senate in 1932, Mr. Thatcher went into the private practice of law here in 1933.

On his 99th birthday, although his activity had declined, he was still in practice, with an office in the Investment Building at 15th and K Streets NW.

"I don't eat meat," he told an interviewer who was interested in his secrets of longevity. "I eat vegetables, eggs and milk. I don't

drink. I don't smoke and I don't drink tea or coffee.

"Of course," he added, "You can't escape meat altogether, meat products creep into a lot of things."

Said Mr. Thatcher, who could still hear well, read without glasses, and make himself heard across a room:

"It's not a religious thing. I just wanted to live what I considered a sound, biological life."

A slender, white-haired man with bushy eyebrows, he said, "I just noticed that the smokers and chewers and drinkers had a hard time quitting when they wanted to."

"I just quit early. I'm a good sleeper, always was, and I still get about eight hours' sleep a night."

Mr. Thatcher was born in Chicago, and grew up in Butler County, in the western part of Kentucky. An official congressional biography said that he "attended public and private schools; engaged in agricultural pursuits; (and) was employed in a newspaper office and in various county offices."

His formal career in public life began at the age of 22 when he was elected clerk of the Butler County Circuit Court. He later studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1898, and became an assistant state attorney general.

After moving to Louisville in 1900, he became an assistant U.S. attorney, and later was named to what has been described as the state's chief appointive office: state inspector and examiner.

In that job, he was credited with saving thousands of dollars for the taxpayers and with bringing about numerous needed reforms. He left it in 1910 to join the Isthmian Canal Commission. After leaving Panama, he held municipal posts in Louisville before being elected to Congress.

In addition to championing measures designed to improve the canal, during his House service, Mr. Thatcher was responsible for much other legislation, including that establishing Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky.

In later years, when he interested himself increasingly in the writing of poetry, he memorialized the park in verse:

"Caverns immense, wrought thru the endless  
ages:

What lessons for the human soul and  
mind!

The great Lord God, in those arresting pages,  
Hath writ a matchless story for mankind.

While in Congress, Mr. Thatcher was also credited with writing legislation for federal appropriations for Braille books and equipment for the nation's blind students.

In later years, besides serving as vice president and general counsel of the Gorgas Institute, Mr. Thatcher maintained contact with his old colleagues by attending meetings here of the Panama Canal Society.

But, as he announced in 1958 at the group's 23d annual meeting, "the ranks are thinning . . ."

Looking back on the occasion of his 99th birthday, he told an interviewer: "I don't lay any claims to a great career. But I've done some useful things. I tried to be useful wherever I was, whatever I did. I've lived a busy and useful life."

His wife, the former Anne Bell Chinn, died in 1960.

#### THE PEACE AGREEMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Ms. ABZUG) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, it had to end sometime.



Those of us in the peace movement who thought U.S. intervention in the war in Vietnam never had to begin at all can now rejoice 13 years later that the bloodshed and horror will finally stop when the cease-fire goes into effect on January 27. I congratulate every American who has spoken out and demonstrated and worked for peace over these long, hard years.

We have at last stopped a war which the hawks in the Pentagon were prepared to see continue until an entire land was reduced to rubble and all its people wiped out.

It is difficult now to speak in terms of victory for anyone when we consider the cost of this terrible war:

For the Americans, an outlay of \$135 billion, 45,933 killed and 303,616 wounded. More than a thousand missing in action and 545 taken prisoner.

Almost a million killed in North Vietnam, 189,528 killed and 499,026 wounded in South Vietnam among the military forces alone.

In South Vietnam, 415,000 civilian men, women, and children killed and 935,000 wounded from 1965 to 1972 alone.

More than 600,000 Vietnamese driven from their homes, their land destroyed by American bombs and herbicides.

More bombs dropped and ammunition expended by the U.S. military forces than in all of World War II. In that war, which spanned three continents and two oceans, U.S. airmen and artillerymen used 2 million tons of bombs and 6 million tons of shells to defeat the Nazis and Japanese. In this war, the U.S. dropped 6.8 million tons of bombs on Indochina and U.S. land and ship-based artillery fired another 7.5 million tons of shells at the people in South and North Vietnam.

For many of us all the horror captured in these cold statistics will forever remain in our minds in the photographs of the blood-drenched bodies of women and children scattered on a road in My Lai and of a little girl running naked and screaming down a highway, her body seared by American napalm.

So I cannot share President Nixon's verdict that he has negotiated "peace with honor," a phrase of monumental hypocrisy that he has used to rationalize an unnecessary prolongation of the war for 4 more years of human agony.

For the past decade a succession of U.S. Presidents and their military and civilian advisers have clung to the public myth that American men were fighting in Vietnam to allow the people there the right of self-determination. All wars feed on diplomatic lies, but the war in Indochina has produced among the biggest lies and self-deceptions, as has been chronicled in the Pentagon papers and in the stark contrasts between self-serving Presidential statements and the grisly reportage from the tormented cities and rural areas of Indochina.

The truth is that we intervened to back up President Diem in his decision to prevent the Geneva Agreement of 1954 from being implemented by the promised reunification elections. We used unparal-

leled force to prevent the people of Vietnam from determining their own destiny and used that force to maintain in power one dictator after another, from Diem to Ky to Thieu.

The unexpected military ability and determination of the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, as well as massive opposition to U.S. policies among the American people and peace forces throughout the world, stopped the American executive branch and the Pentagon from totally demolishing North Vietnam and most of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, as they were prepared to do.

Now at last the United States has pledged to withdraw its forces and what we have, in effect, is a cease-fire in place.

We must recognize that President Nixon's insistence on salvaging the Thieu government has delayed the achievement of a lasting and realistic political settlement for the people of Vietnam.

The agreement described today by Henry Kissinger leaves very hazy the actual political future of Vietnam. An election within South Vietnam is provided for at some unstated time, but under the conditions set for the "National Council of Reconciliation and Concord," either party—the Saigon government or the Provisional Revolutionary Government, which represents the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam—can exercise a veto.

The result may well be that President Thieu, who had himself reelected without opposition almost two years ago, will try to dig in and refuse to agree to any election that allows either the Communists or the many neutralist groups in South Vietnam a free role in the political process.

We are now at the crucial moment for Congress to assert its power and to play a responsible role in the months ahead, and particularly in connection with the planned international conference with the Soviet Union and China. We must insist that this conference become the basis for a total military disengagement of the United States from Southeast Asia.

With American sea and air forces still poised in the seas off Vietnam and in Thailand, Congress must use its fund cutoff powers to disabuse the President of any notion that he can reenter or refuse the war in Indochina. We must also use congressional authority to cut off funds for any military or paramilitary assistance to the government of President Thieu. The sooner he knows that he can no longer rely on the Treasury of the United States to support him, the sooner he will be impelled to reach a realistic peace settlement with the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the neutralist groups in South Vietnam.

I believe it is still essential for Congress to use its fund cutoff powers because although the cease-fire agreement specifies the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam within 60 days, the Pentagon apparently is planning to maintain a long-term military presence in Southeast Asia.

In an article in the New York Times of January 23, 1973, William Beecher reported from Washington:

Pentagon planners report that United States air power is scheduled to be withdrawn from Southeast Asia very slowly in the initial period following any cease-fire in the Indochina war.

Until every one of our prisoners of war has been returned and the missing accounted for, one high-ranking defense official declared, very few of the approximate total of 1,000 Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps combat aircraft will be pulled back in the first 60 days of any truce.

Thereafter, the Pentagon officials say, many B-52 and fighter-bomber squadrons will be reassigned. But, they add, a force of several hundred strike aircraft probably will remain for several months while American analysts study events in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to see whether any serious truce violations occur.

Over the longer run, assuming there are no major military operations by North Vietnamese forces, the planners continue, the United States will probably scale down to a presence in Thailand of three to six combat squadrons, totaling 72 to 144 aircraft.

This plan would also include one aircraft carrier with 70 to 90 planes aboard that would occasionally cruise off the coast of Indochina to demonstrate the availability of additional air power to respond to any possible invasion of the South by tanks and troops from the North.

Mr. Beecher says further:

Other Administration officials, in the Pentagon and other departments, said that Henry A. Kissinger had made it clear during his negotiations with North Vietnamese representatives in Paris that President Nixon would not hesitate to reapply air and sea power in Indochina if Hanoi should violate any cease fire agreement in a blatant way.

After the experience of this past December when President Nixon ordered his ferocious temper tantrum bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong in an action that horrified the world, we must guarantee that there be no repetition of this awesome and unconstitutional exercise of Presidential power.

Congress must use its fund cutoff powers to lock the door behind the President so that there can be no continued presence in Indochina, no renewal of bombing, and no further military aid to the Thieu regime.

We must also permanently limit the power of the President to intervene in the affairs of other nations or to use military forces without congressional authorization. There must be no more Vietnams.

#### SENATOR MCGOVERN'S LECTURE AT OXFORD

(Mr. WAGGONER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WAGGONER. Mr. Speaker, it is not often that I have the occasion to agree with an editorial in the Washington Post, but when I do, I like to say so.

I call attention to two articles appearing in the Post for Tuesday, January 23. One is the column by the perceptive Joseph Kraft and the other is an editorial

related to it on the subject of Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN's lecture at Saint Catherine's College, Oxford, England.

Senator MCGOVERN's childish display of sour grapes serves only to affirm what most of the American people had already concluded about his candidacy for the Presidency, manifesting it at the polls in November, that he is too little a man to be President of the United States. MCGOVERN's platform and everything he proposed, including his so-called appeals to the idealism and morality of America were soundly rejected by the American people. Now the loser searches in vain for a scapegoat. Surely, even Senator MCGOVERN does not believe as he has indicated, that the press was so unfair to him during the campaign, while protecting the President from criticism. Let us call a spade a spade. If there has been anyone who has been attacked and ridiculed constantly by the national press since he assumed office in 1969, it has been President Nixon. The only difference is the President has shown he can take it, the Senator cannot.

I think that Mr. Kraft sums it up well:

To begin with, the basic deficiency in the McGovern campaign was the candidate himself.

I include the above referred to articles taken from the Post to follow my remarks:

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 23, 1973]

MCGOVERN'S LOSS WAS OF HIS OWN MAKING

(By Joseph Kraft)

Losers in presidential elections generally have the grace to keep quiet for awhile. Not George McGovern.

Privately, and now in a lecture at Oxford, he has been blaming his defeat on the deficiency of the American people, the Congress, the political parties, the liberal tradition and the press. So, despite the custom of going easy on losers, a few home truths are in order.

To begin with, the basic deficiency in the McGovern campaign was the candidate himself. Senator McGovern lacked the toughness of mind, the breadth of experience, the judgment of men and the personal presence that are required for the White House.

Because of these failings, the Senator never had the enthusiastic support of the strong men who have been the mainstays of the Democratic Party in the past. For the same reason, most of us in the press who knew him over a long period were consistently skeptical about his candidacy.

The program the Senator put forward was studded with examples of a poor grasp on issues. For instance, his defense program would have destabilized the nuclear balance by increasing the number of American attack submarines. It would have cost more than necessary because aircraft carriers would have been scrapped instead of being allowed to become obsolescent.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the Senator's staff were the number of former journalists in his entourage. I love the press. But I don't think we have much experience in doing the business of the world—certainly not to the point of knowing how to run the country.

The Senator's slam at the press positively exudes sour grapes. If it is true that we did not, as he puts it, "lay a glove" on President Nixon, that is because Mr. Nixon had the good sense to stay above the battle.

Some sharp criticism was thrown at Senator McGovern, particularly in connection with his handling of the Eagleton affair. But you didn't hear the Senator screaming with

pain when he was being built up by the media after the Wisconsin primary as the giant-killer of American politics, farseeing and courageous with a rare inner toughness. The truth is that anybody insubstantial enough to have to live by the media is probably going to die by the media.

A far more serious point comes up for examination when Senator McGovern talks about renegade liberals—"those who charge that liberalism has been tried and found wanting." Certainly the perception that the program of the Great Society did not work is widespread—especially among many former backers of the programs.

That view is endorsed by what anybody can see in the work done by such orthodox liberals as Mayor John Lindsay in New York, and former Mayor Carl Stokes in Cleveland. It is reinforced by some careful studies, including notably Christopher Jencks' monumental work on education entitled "Inequality."

Maybe these perceptions are wrong. If so, the thing to do is to demonstrate the fact by finding and holding up for public admiration examples where the Great Society programs have succeeded. For my own part, I have looked without great success.

A second serious charge the Senator makes is that the country is in danger of "one man rule." In fact, the most recent decisions on Vietnam have been made almost alone by President Nixon. He has gone way beyond precedent in impounding funds appropriated by the Congress and in asserting executive privilege against testimony to the Congress.

But "one man rule?" That sounds far-fetched to me. The Congress, the courts, and the rest of the vast and infinitely filigreed apparatus of due process in this country are still very much in place. The Congress can easily take the President in tow by developing its own budget, and asserting the power of the purse.

Only that requires that many Congressmen and Senators develop an ability once possessed by Senator McGovern which he seems to have lost in the heady whirl of Presidential politics. It requires the ability not to be a prima donna.

#### SENATOR MCGOVERN AT OXFORD

On the page opposite today, the columnist Joseph Kraft has analyzed the unfortunate and rather embarrassing speech Senator McGovern delivered Sunday at St. Catherine's College, Oxford. We think Mr. Kraft's appraisal is correct. It is incredible that Senator McGovern should have chosen this occasion to flail about at the "so-called liberals," the U.S. Congress, the two political parties and the press, and it is equally incredible that he should have chosen to indulge his penchant for casual and damaging overstatement, speaking so glibly of the "elective dictatorship" the presidency is supposedly becoming and blandly asserting that "the exhaustion of American institutions is matched by an exhaustion of the American spirit." For our part, we have no objections to an American politician letting his countrymen have it in a speech overseas. After all—why not? Our objection is to the petulant, self-pitying tone and the inaccurate and misleading conclusions that flowed from it. Can Senator McGovern really believe that his defeat at the polls in November was largely a product of the malefactions of the press? Can he really believe that it represents some larger decline of the national spirit reflected in the decline of our institutions?

Apparently the answer is yes. And the resentment is truly deep. Thus: "some liberal intellectuals . . . seem to draw a curious personal consolation from the evidence that my appeals to the idealism and morality of America were rejected by the majority of Americans." And again: "I was subjected to the close, critical reporting that is a tradition in American politics . . . Mr. Nixon escaped a

similar scrutiny . . . Much of this can be blamed on the incestuous character of the White House press corps itself." Believing as we do, that Senator McGovern's problems with the electorate scarcely proceeded from an overdose of idealism or morality, and recalling as we do the prodigious reportorial effort that went into disclosures concerning campaign spending, the Watergate affair and the rest, all this seems to us more appropriate for a letting-off-steam in the immediate wake of defeat than for a speech that is meant to produce something more reflective. Indeed the self-righteousness, the sanctimony, the comprehensive resentments and the pervasive suspicion of bad motive and foul play put us in mind of something else. They put us in mind of Mr. Nixon on a bad day, Mr. Nixon at his speech-making worst.

What is so distressing about all this is what it may portend in the future role Senator McGovern intends to play in his party. For his speech struck us as a model of what a Democratic Party leader should not be thinking or saying at the moment—which is not to deny his God-given right to do both nor to suggest that such remarks are wrong on tactical grounds. They are wrong because they are wrong headed. We do not draw much "consolation"—"curious," "personal" or otherwise—from the fact that the Democratic candidate evidently perceives the meaning of the 1972 election this way, evidently believes that the liberal resurgence of which he speaks so eloquently toward the end of his address can be built on such a perception of events.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

MESSRS. DERWINSKI, BURKE of Florida, CHAMBERLAIN, and MCCLORY (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), to February 8, on account of official business.

MESSRS. HAMILTON, PATTEN, NEDZI, and JARMAN (at the request of Mr. McSPADEN), to February 8 on account of official business.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ABNOR) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BELL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HANRAHAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MINSHALL of Ohio, for 1 hour, on January 31.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. RAILSBACK, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SEBELIUS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KEMP, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho, for 15 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. McSPADEN) and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:

Mr. FLOOD, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. HARRINGTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. ABZUG, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. BENITEZ, for 60 minutes, on January 30.

Mr. BADILLO, for 60 minutes, on January 30.



## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon in five instances.  
Mr. GERALD R. FORD and to include extraneous matter, notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds two pages of the RECORD and will cost over the limit.

Mr. BINGHAM and to include extraneous matter, notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds two pages of the RECORD and is estimated by the Public Printer to cost \$595.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ABDNOR) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. LENT in five instances.

Mr. VEYSEY.

Mr. BELL.

Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.

Mr. RINALDO in five instances.

Mr. FREY in two instances.

Mr. BURKE of Florida.

Mr. ERLNBORN in two instances.

Mr. DERWINSKI in three instances.

Mr. ZWACH.

Mr. GILMAN.

Mr. BOB WILSON.

Mr. CONTE.

Mr. COCHRAN in two instances.

Mr. MALLARY.

Mr. SHOUP in two instances.

Mr. WYMAN in two instances.

Mr. RAILSBACK in two instances.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY in two instances.

Mr. FINDLEY.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN in two instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. McSPADDEN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ROGERS in five instances.

Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.

Mr. BREAUX in three instances.

Mr. RARICK in three instances.

Mr. LEHMAN in two instances.

Mrs. SULLIVAN.

Mr. DINGELL in three instances.

Mr. GAYDOS in 10 instances.

Mr. CASEY of Texas.

Mr. DULSKI in six instances.

Mr. ZABLOCKI in four instances.

Mr. WALDIE in five instances.

Mr. REID.

Mr. BURLISON of Missouri.

Mr. ANDERSON of California.

Mr. McSPADDEN.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California.

Mr. JOHNSON of California.

Mr. ROE in two instances.

Mr. ANNUNZIO in two instances.

Mr. DRINAN.

Mr. FOUNTAIN.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon in five instances.

## SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 421. An act to provide that appointments to the Office of Director of the Cost of Living Council shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

## ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. HAYS, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that

committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.J. Res. 163. Joint resolution designating the week commencing January 28, 1973, as "International Clergy Week in the United States," and for other purposes.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McSPADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 26 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Friday, January 26, 1973, at 12 o'clock noon.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

276. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting notice of his intention to exercise his authority under section 614(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, to waive the requirements of section 620(m) of the act, so as to allow funding for fiscal year 1973 of the educational-cultural component of the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States and Spain, pursuant to section 652 of the act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

277. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Logistics), transmitting notice of the proposed transfer of the Mine Sweep Boat (MSB-5) to the Pate Museum, Fort Worth, Tex., pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 7308; to the Committee on Armed Services.

278. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report on the acceptance of gifts for the benefit of Indians, covering fiscal year 1972, pursuant to 25 U.S.C. 451 (Public Law 90-333); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

279. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a proposed concession contract for the provision, operation, and maintenance of visitor accommodations, facilities and services at Grand Canyon (North Rim), Zion, and Bryce Canyon National Parks, for a term of 10 years ending December 31, 1982, pursuant to 67 Stat. 271 and 70 Stat. 543; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

280. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 1306(a) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, to authorize the investment of the war risk insurance fund in securities of, or guaranteed by, the United States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 2773. A bill to make it clear that code standards prescribed for purposes of the Federal laws relating to housing and urban development do not supersede the corresponding standards embodied in local building, plumbing, electrical, fire prevention, or related codes where the local standards are higher; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 2774. A bill to provide a national program in order to make the international metric system the predominant but not exclusive system of measurement in the United States and to provide for converting to the general use of such system within 10 years; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H.R. 2775. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to establish procedures providing members of the Armed Forces redress of grievances arising from acts of brutality or other cruelties, and acts which abridge or deny rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, suffered by them while serving in the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2776. A bill to amend the Maritime Academy Act of 1958 in order to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to appoint students at State maritime academies and colleges as Reserve midshipmen in the U.S. Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2777. A bill to require local governmental approval for section 235 or 236 housing; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 2778. A bill to amend the National Housing Act to provide that rentals in housing projects assisted thereunder shall be subject to regulation under State or local laws, with any Federal authority to regulate rentals in such projects being inapplicable where such State or local laws exist, and to assure to tenants in such projects the right of hearing and judicial review on the establishment of such rentals or any increase therein; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 2779. A bill to amend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 to authorize the hiring of senior citizens as price control wardens to enforce price and wage control regulations; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 2780. A bill to revise the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2781. A bill to provide for the comprehensive development of correctional manpower training and employment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2782. A bill to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide Federal assistance for interscholastic athletic programs in secondary schools associated with community improvement programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2783. A bill to provide for a Federal loan guarantee and grant program to enable educational institutions and individuals to purchase electronic reading aids for the blind; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2784. A bill to amend the Noise Pollution and Abatement Act of 1970; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2785. A bill to require the disclosure of the operational noise level of machinery distributed in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2786. A bill to make it a Federal crime to kill or assault a fireman or law enforcement officer engaged in the performance of his duties when the offender travels in interstate commerce or uses any facility of interstate commerce for such purpose; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2787. A bill to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended, to provide benefits to survivors of certain public safety officers who die in the performance of duty; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2788. A bill to authorize the Attorney General of the United States to delegate to any common carrier by railroad, or any employee thereof, certain functions relating to the enforcement of certain Federal laws affecting railroads and property moving by railroad interstate or foreign commerce and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2789. A bill for the relief of residents of Northern Ireland; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2790. A bill authorizing the President to proclaim the third week of May as "Lone Defenders Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2791. A bill to amend the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, title 39, United States Code, to eliminate certain restrictions on the rights of officers and employees of the Postal Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2792. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in commemoration of the life and work of Dr. Enrico Fermi; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2793. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish a separate nonservice-connected disability pension system for certain veterans age 72 or over, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2794. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to exclude certain increases in benefits under the Social Security Act from consideration as income for the purpose of determining eligibility for pension under title 38, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2795. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that Paget's disease developing a 10 percent or more degree of disability within 5 years after separation from active service during a period of war shall be presumed to be service connected; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2796. A bill to provide payments to States for public elementary and secondary education and to allow a credit against the individual income tax for tuition paid for the elementary or secondary education of dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2797. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit an exemption of the first \$5,000 of retirement income received by a taxpayer under a public retirement system or any other system if the taxpayer is at least 65 years of age; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2798. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the personal exemption allowed a taxpayer for a dependent shall be available without regard to the dependent's income in the case of a dependent who is over 65 (the same as in the case of a dependent who is a child under 19); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2799. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit the full deduction of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals of 65 years of age and over, without regard to the 3 percent and 1 percent floors; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2800. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that tuition for the education of a handicapped dependent at a private school shall be treated as a medical expense of the taxpayer when such education is recommended by a physician; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2801. A bill to provide a deduction for income tax purposes, in the case of a disabled individual, for expenses for transportation

to and from work; and to provide an additional exemption for income tax purposes for a taxpayer or spouse who is disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2802. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction to tenants of houses or apartments for their proportionate share of the taxes and interest paid by their landlords; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2803. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment under the supplementary medical insurance program for optometrists' services and eyeglasses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2804. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow an itemized deduction for certain amounts expended for marine sanitation devices which comply with the Federal Water Pollution Control Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2805. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase to \$750 in all cases the amount of the lump-sum death payment thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:

H.R. 2806. A bill to amend section 1402(a) of title 10, United States Code, to revise the rule for entitlement to retired or retainer pay to reflect later active duty; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 2807. A bill to provide elective coverage under the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system for all officers and employees of the United States and its instrumentalities; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CAREY of New York:

H.R. 2808. A bill relating to the income tax treatment of charitable contributions of inventory and certain other ordinary income property; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2809. A bill to permit officers and employees of the Federal Government to elect coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2810. A bill relating to the treatment of certain changes in wills and trust instruments for purposes of the Tax Reform Act of 1969; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2811. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to subject Federal land banks, Federal land bank associations, and Federal intermediate credit banks to the taxes imposed by such code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CLARK:

H.R. 2812. A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to reaffirm that such funds made available for each fiscal year to carry out the programs provided for in such act be fully obligated in said year, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN:

H.R. 2813. A bill to designate certain lands in the State of California as wilderness; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. COLLINS (for himself, Mr. BROWN of Michigan, Mr. BYRON, Mr. W. C. (Dan) DANIEL, Mrs. HOLT, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. PARRIS, Mr. POWELL of Ohio, Mr. QUIE, Mr. RABICK, Mr. ROE, Mr. ROY, Mr. RUPPE, Mr. SEBELIUS, Mr. SHRIVER, Mr. STEIGER of Arizona, Mr. WARE, Mr. BOB WILSON, Mr. WON PAT, Mr. YOUNG of South Carolina, and Mr. ZWACH):

H.R. 2814. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CONTE (for himself, Mr. BERGLAND, Mr. CLEVELAND, Mr. COHEN, Mr. CRONIN, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. GAIAMO, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. HEINZ, Mr. HORTON, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. PEYSER, Mr. PIKE, Mr. ROBISON of New York, Mr. SARASIN, Mr. STOKES, and Mr. WHALEN):

H.R. 2815. A bill to repeal the Connolly Hot Oil Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CONTE (for himself, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota, Mr. BADILLO, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. COHEN, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DAVIS of Georgia, Mr. DE LUCA, Mr. DRINAN, Mr. ECKHARDT, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. FISH, and Mr. GUDE):

H.R. 2816. A bill to prohibit the President from impounding any funds, or approving the impounding of funds without the consent of the Congress, and to provide a procedure under which the House of Representatives and the Senate may approve the President's proposed impoundment; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CONTE (for himself, Miss HOLTZMAN, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. MINISH, Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. STEPHENS, Mr. STOKES, Mr. WOLFF, Mr. WRIGHT, and Mr. YATRON):

H.R. 2817. A bill to prohibit the President from impounding any funds, or approving the impounding of funds without the consent of the Congress, and to provide a procedure under which the House of Representatives and the Senate may approve the President's proposed impoundment; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CONTE (for himself, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. BERGLAND, Mr. CLEVELAND, Mr. COHEN, Mr. DANIELSON, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. DRINAN, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. FRENZEL, Mr. GAIAMO, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. HEINZ, Miss HOLTZMAN, Mr. HORTON, Mr. KING, Mr. McCLOSKEY, and Mr. MALLORY):

H.R. 2818. A bill to terminate the oil import control program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CONTE (for himself, Mr. McCLODY, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. OBEY, Mr. PEYSER, Mr. RAILSBACK, Mr. REID, Mr. REUSS, Mr. ROBISON of New York, Mr. ROE, Mr. RUPPE, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. SARASIN, Mr. SMITH of New York, Mr. STOKES, Mr. J. WILLIAM STANTON, Mr. STRATTON, Mr. VANIK, Mr. WHALEN, and Mr. ZWACH):

H.R. 2819. A bill to terminate the oil import control program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DENT:

H.R. 2820. A bill to require the President to notify the Congress whenever he impounds funds, or authorizes the impounding of funds, and to provide a procedure under which the House of Representatives and the Senate may approve the President's action or require the President to cease such action; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DEVINE:

H.R. 2821. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide for regulation of television networks to assure that their operations are in the public interest; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DORN:

H.R. 2822. A bill to raise the Veterans Administration to the status of an executive department of the Government to be known as the Department of Veterans Affairs; to the Committee on Government Operations.



H.R. 2823. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to liberalize the provisions relating to payment of disability and death pension, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2824. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to permit the furnishing of benefits to certain veterans conditionally discharged or released from active military, naval, or air service; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2825. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide that payments made to a hospitalized incompetent veteran will not be terminated unless his estate exceeds \$2,000, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2826. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase the amount payable on burial and funeral expenses; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2827. A bill to amend chapter 23 of title 38, United States Code, so as to provide that where death occurs in a State Home, the Administrator shall pay the actual cost (not to exceed \$250) of the burial and funeral, and transport the body to the place of burial in the same or any other State; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DORN (for himself, Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, Mr. HALEY, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. SATTERFIELD, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. CARNEY of Ohio, Mr. DANIELSON, Mrs. GRASSO, Mr. WOLFF, Mr. BRINKLEY, Mr. CHARLES WILSON of Texas, Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT, Mr. SAYLOR, Mr. TEAGUE of California, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. ZWACH, Mr. WYLIE, Mr. HILLIS, and Mr. ABDNOR):

H.R. 2828. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish a national cemetery system within the Veterans' Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DOWNING:

H.R. 2829. A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to reaffirm that such funds made available for each fiscal year to carry out the programs provided for in such act be fully obligated in said year and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2830. A bill to authorize an increase in funds for land acquisition at Colonial National Historical Park, in the State of Virginia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ERLBORN (for himself, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. QUIE, Mr. WAGGONER, and Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois):

H.R. 2831. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage rates prescribed by that act, to expand employment opportunities for youths, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. EVANS of Colorado:

H.R. 2832. A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to reaffirm that such funds made available for each fiscal year to carry out the programs provided for in such act be fully obligated in said year, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 2833. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. GERALD R. FORD:

H.R. 2834. A bill to create a National Agricultural Bargaining Board, to provide standards for the qualification of associations of producers, to define the mutual obligation of handlers and associations of producers to negotiate regarding agricultural products, and

for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FOUNTAIN:

H.R. 2835. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out a rural environmental assistance program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GAYDOS:

H.R. 2836. A bill to revise the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2837. A bill to amend the tariff and trade laws of the United States to promote full employment and restore a diversified production base; to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to stem the outflow of U.S. capital, jobs, technology, and production, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GIBBONS:

H.R. 2838. A bill to suspend until the close of June 30, 1974, the duties on certain forms of copper; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2839. A bill to provide for the duty-free treatment of the copper content of all copper-bearing ores; to permanently suspend the duty on copper waste, copper scrap, and certain forms of copper; to repeal the market price test for determining rates of duty on copper-bearing materials; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. GREEN of Oregon (for herself, Mr. WYATT, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. CAREY of New York, Mr. DENT, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. GIALMO, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. ICHORD, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. PIKE, and Mr. YATES):

H.R. 2840. A bill to provide congressional due process in questions of war powers as required by the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. GUDE (for himself, Mr. SAYLOR, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, and Mr. SKUBERTZ):

H.R. 2841. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Clara Barton House National Historic Site in the State of Maryland, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. GUYER:

H.R. 2842. A bill to improve and implement procedures for fiscal controls in the U.S. Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HARVEY:

H.R. 2843. A bill to assure an opportunity for employment to every American seeking work and to make available the education and training needed by any person to qualify for employment consistent with his highest potential and capability, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2844. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 and the Interstate Commerce Act to authorize reduced-fare transportation on a space-available basis for persons who are 65 years of age or older; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2845. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to promote additional protection for the rights of participants in private pension plans, to establish minimum standards for vesting, to establish an insurance corporation within the Department of the Treasury, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2846. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase to \$3,000 the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without any deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2847. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a beneficiary who dies shall (if otherwise qualified)

be entitled to a prorated benefit for the month of his death; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

H.R. 2848. A bill to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968 (82 Stat. 906) by designating a portion of the Colorado River, Colorado, for study as a potential addition to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers system; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. JONES of Oklahoma:

H.R. 2849. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out a rural environmental assistance program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. JONES of Tennessee (for himself and Mr. WAMPLER):

H.R. 2850. A bill to provide price support for milk at not less than 85 percent of the parity price therefor; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MALLARY:

H.R. 2851. A bill to grant a child adopted by a single U.S. citizen the same immigrant status as a child adopted by a U.S. citizen and his spouse; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2852. A bill to provide for the establishment of a national cemetery in the State of Vermont; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 2853. A bill to authorize and direct the Librarian of Congress to establish and maintain a library of television and radio programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MILLS of Arkansas:

H.R. 2854. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exempt certain agricultural aircraft from the aircraft use tax, to provide for the refund of the gasoline tax to the agricultural aircraft operator with the consent of the farmer, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.R. 2855. A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to reaffirm that such funds made available for each fiscal year to carry out the programs provided for in such act be fully obligated in said year, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2856. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 in order to provide that licenses for the operation of a broadcasting station shall be issued for a term of 5 years; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2857. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to remove all of the existing limitations upon the dollar amount of outside income which a disability annuitant or a survivor annuitant may earn while receiving an annuity thereunder; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PERKINS (for himself, Mr. DENT, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BLATNIK, Mr. BRADEMAS, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts, Mr. BURTON, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CLARK, Mr. CLAY, Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS, Mr. DANIELSON, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. HAYS, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HOLIFIELD, Mr. KYROS, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. LEHMAN, and Mr. MCCORMACK):

H.R. 2858. A bill to revise the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PRICE of Illinois:

H.R. 2859. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize certain emergency grants to assure adequate rapid transit and commuter railroad service in urban areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 2860. A bill to establish mining and

mineral research centers, to promote a more adequate national program of mining and minerals research, to supplement the act of December 31, 1970, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2861. A bill to provide for cooperation between the Secretary of the Interior and the States with respect to the regulation of surface mining operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2862. A bill to amend the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 to authorize design standards for schoolbuses, to require certain standards be established for schoolbuses, to require the investigation of certain schoolbus accidents, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2863. A bill to prohibit common carriers in interstate commerce from charging elderly people more than half fare for their transportation during nonpeak periods of travel, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2864. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to permit certain tax exempt organizations to engage in communications with legislative bodies, and committees and members thereof; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RAILSBACK (for himself, Mr. O'BRIEN, Mr. MILFORD, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. ZWACH, Mr. MCCLORY, Mr. HANRAHAN, and Mr. FRASER):

H.R. 2865. A bill to authorize the President to establish a system to ration fuel oil among civilian users in order to provide for an equitable distribution of fuel oil in areas of shortage; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RAILSBACK (for himself, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. MILFORD, Mr. ZWACH, Mr. MCCLORY, and Mr. HANRAHAN):

H.R. 2866. A bill to provide for the de-regulation of natural gas; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 2867. A bill to amend the Duck Stamp Act and other laws to prohibit the charging of any Federal fee to any individual who has attained age 65 for the privilege of hunting, trapping, or fishing; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 2868. A bill to amend chapter 83, title 5, United States Code, to eliminate the reduction in the annuities of employees or members who elected reduced annuities in order to provide a survivor annuity if predeceased by the person named as survivor and permit a retired employee or member to designate a new spouse as survivor if predeceased by the person named as survivor at the time of retirement; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2869. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage higher education, and particularly the private funding thereof, by authorizing a deduction from gross income of reasonable amounts contributed to a qualified higher education fund established by a taxpayer for the purpose of funding the higher education of his dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2870. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit an individual receiving benefits thereunder to earn outside income without losing any of such benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROBERTS:

H.R. 2871. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out a rural environmental assistance program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2872. A bill to abolish the U.S. Postal Service, to repeal the Postal Reorganization Act, to reenact the former provisions of title 39, United States Code, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2873. A bill to create a public works program for the purpose of reducing unemployment; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 2874. A bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Army to classify project lands at Lake Texoma for sound recreational use; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 2875. A bill to modify the project at Lavon Reservoir, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 2876. A bill to permit officers and employees of the Federal Government to elect coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROY:

H.R. 2877. A bill to authorize the payment of a death gratuity to the survivors of certain members of the Armed Forces who have been in a missing-in-action status and subsequently determined to have died during a period when no Government life insurance program was in effect for active duty personnel; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2878. A bill to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Sac and Fox Indians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2879. A bill to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay certain judgments in favor of the Iowa Tribes of Oklahoma and of Kansas and Nebraska; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2880. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Agricultural Hall of Fame National Cultural Park in the State of Kansas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2881. A bill to amend the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 to authorize design standards for schoolbuses and require the establishment of certain standards for schoolbuses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2882. A bill to prohibit common carriers in interstate commerce from charging elderly people more than half fare for their transportation during nonpeak periods of travel, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2883. A bill to reduce pollution which is caused by litter composed of soft drink and beer containers, and to eliminate the threat to the Nation's health, safety, and welfare which is caused by such litter by banning such containers when they are sold in interstate commerce on a no-deposit, no-return basis; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2884. A bill to amend the Uniform Time Act of 1966 to provide that daylight saving time shall begin on Memorial Day and end on Labor Day of each year; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2885. A bill to change the minimum age qualification for serving as a juror in Federal courts from 21 years of age to 18 years of age; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2886. A bill to retain November 11 as Veterans Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2887. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to authorize the transmission, without cost to the sender, of letter mail to the President or Vice President of the United States or to Members of Congress, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 2888. A bill to designate certain segments of the Interstate System as the "Dwight D. Eisenhower Highway"; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 2889. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to insure that beneficiaries under the Servicemen's Group Life Insurance Program of certain members of the

Armed Forces in missing status are not denied the benefits of such program; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2890. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against the individual income tax for tuition paid for the elementary or secondary education of dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2891. A bill to allow a credit against Federal income taxes or a payment from the U.S. Treasury for State and local real property taxes or an equivalent portion of rent paid on their residences by individuals who have attained age 65; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROYBAL (for himself, Mr. BRASCO, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. DANIELSON, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California, Mr. WOLFF, and Mr. HARRINGTON):

H.R. 2892. A bill to establish a program to replace, through the cooperative efforts of Federal, State, and local governments, elementary and secondary schools which are in dangerous location or unsafe condition or are otherwise deficient; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ROYBAL (for himself, Mr. ANDERSON of California, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. BELL, Mr. BURTON, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. JOHNSON of California, Mr. HANNA, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. LEHMAN, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. MCFALL, Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. PODELL, Mr. REES, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. WALDIE, and Mr. HELSTOSKI):

H.R. 2893. A bill to authorize grants to the Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ROYBAL (for himself, Ms. ABZUG, Mr. BROWN of California, Mrs. BURKE of California, Mr. BURTON, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. DRINAN, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland, Mr. REES, Mr. RIEGLE, and Mr. WOLFF):

H.R. 2894. A bill to provide reimbursement to certain individuals for medical relief for physical injury suffered by them that is directly attributable to the explosions of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945 and the radioactive fallout from those explosions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL (for himself, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BURTON, Mr. DANIELSON, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. MCFALL, Mrs. MINK, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. REES, Mr. SISK, Mr. TALCOTT, Mr. VAN DEERLIN, and Mr. WALDIE):

H.R. 2895. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that any resident of the Republic of the Philippines may be a dependent for purposes of the income tax deduction for personal exemption; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SATTERFIELD:

H.R. 2896. A bill to amend chapter 17 of title 38, United States Code, so as to authorize reimbursement for hospital care or medical service for any disability of a veteran who has a total service-connected disability permanent in nature; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2897. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may furnish medical services for a non-service-connected disability to any war veteran who has a disability rated at 50 percent or more resulting from a service-connected disability; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.



H.R. 2898. A bill to amend section 620 of title 38, United States Code, to authorize direct admission to community nursing homes of those veterans needing such care for a service-connected condition; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2899. A bill to amend section 620 of title 38, United States Code, to extend the length of time community nursing home care may be provided at the expense of the United States; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. SATTERFIELD (for himself, Mr. DORN, Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, Mr. HALEY, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. CARNEY of Ohio, Mr. DANIELSON, Mrs. GRASSO, Mr. WOLFE, Mr. BRINKLEY, Mr. CHARLES WILSON of Texas, Mr. SAYLOR, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. ZWACK, and Mr. WYLIE):

H.R. 2900. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide improved medical care to veterans; to provide hospital and medical care to certain dependents and survivors of veterans; to improve recruitment and retention of career personnel in the Department of Medicine and Surgery; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. SEBELIUS (for himself, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. SHERIDAN, Mr. SKUBITZ, and Mr. WINN):

H.R. 2901. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out a rural environmental assistance program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SHOUP:

H.R. 2902. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to develop and carry out a forestry incentives program to encourage a higher level of forest resource protection, development, and management by small non-industrial private and non-Federal public forest landowners, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2903. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SIKES (for himself, Mr. FISHER, Mr. RARICK, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. DAVIS of Georgia, Mr. HALEY, Mr. SLACK, Mr. BOWEN, Mr. HANSEN of Idaho, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. DENHOLM, Mr. SCHERLE, Mr. LOTT, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mrs. HANSEN of Washington, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. LATTI, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. GUYER):

H.R. 2904. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to develop and carry out a forestry incentives program to encourage a higher level of forest resource protection, development, and management by small non-industrial private and non-Federal public forest landowners, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SIKES (for himself, Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. ICHORD, Mr. FLOOD, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. WON PAT, Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. YATRON, Mr. CLEVELAND, Mr. WHITTEN, Mr. HUBER, Mr. BAKER, and Mr. FUQUA):

H.R. 2905. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to develop and carry out a forestry incentives program to encourage a higher level of forest resource protection, development, and management by small non-industrial private and non-Federal public forest landowners, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas:

H.R. 2906. A bill to amend section 3104 of title 38, United States Code, to permit certain service-connected disabled veterans who are retired members of the uniformed services

to receive compensation concurrently with retired pay, without deduction from either; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2907. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide that the effective date of disability pension shall be the date that permanent and total disability is established, if application for such benefit is received within 1 year from such date; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2908. A bill to provide for the payment of aid and attendance benefits to certain totally disabled veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2909. A bill to amend chapter 19, title 38, United States Code, so as to provide a statutory total disability for insurance purposes to any veteran who has undergone kidney or heart transplant or anatomical loss or loss of use of both kidneys; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2910. A bill to amend chapter 11, title 38, United States Code, to provide a statutory compensable rating of not less than 10 percent for any veteran who was a prisoner of war; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2911. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that progressive muscular atrophy developing a 10 percent or more degree of disability within 7 years after separation from active service during a period of war shall be presumed to be service connected; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2912. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide that psychosis developing a 10-percent degree of disability or more within 2 years after separation from active service during a period of war shall be presumed to be service connected; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2913. A bill to amend section 410 of title 38, United States Code, to provide a statutory presumption of service-connected death of any veteran who has been rated totally disabled by reason of service-connected disability for 10 or more years; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2914. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize increased benefits for veterans requiring regularly scheduled hemodialysis; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2915. A bill to amend chapter 11, title 38, United States Code, to increase the statutory rates for certain anatomical loss or loss of use; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2916. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to assist veterans with a permanent and total service-connected disability due to the loss or loss of use of one upper and one lower extremity to acquire specially adapted housing; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 2917. A bill to amend section 312 of title 38, United States Code, by providing a 10-year presumptive period of service connection for chronic diseases of certain prisoners of war; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas (for himself and Mr. SATTERFIELD):

H.R. 2918. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to permit veterans to determine how certain drugs and medicines will be supplied to them; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. DENT, Mr. MAYNE, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. MILFORD, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania, Mr. MORGAN, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. NIX, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. PIKE, Mr. PREYER, Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. RANDALL, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SEIBERLING, Mr. STOKES, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. WON PAT, and Mr. YATRON):

H.R. 2919. A bill to revise the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. VAN DEERLIN (for himself, Mr. CONTE, Mr. ADDABO, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. BRASCO, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. BROVHILL of North Carolina, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. DELANEY, Mr. DELLENBACK, Mr. DENT, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. DU PONT, Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. ESHLEMAN, Mr. FISH, Mr. CHAIMO, Mrs. GRASSO, Mrs. HANSEN of Washington, Mr. HARVEY, and Mr. HILLIS):

H.R. 2920. A bill for the establishment of a Council on Energy Policy; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VAN DEERLIN (for himself, Mr. CONTE, Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. KING, Mr. LONG of Louisiana, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. MAILLIARD, Mr. MALLARY, Mr. MATHIS of Georgia, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. POBELLI, Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. REES, Mr. RODINO, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. STEELE, Mr. VEYSEY, Mr. WALDIE, Mr. WARE, Mr. WHITEHURST, Mr. WOLFF, and Mr. ZION):

H.R. 2921. A bill for the establishment of a Council on Energy Policy; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WHITE:

H.R. 2922. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the governments of Central and South America in order to control outbreaks of certain insect pests when necessary to protect the agriculture of the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2923. A bill to authorize Federal cost sharing in promoting public safety through the elimination of hazardous open canals by converting them to closed conduits and by fencing; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2924. A bill to authorize the construction of extensions of the American Canal at El Paso, Tex., operation and maintenance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2925. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide that actual entitlement to a social security benefit shall not have the effect of reducing an individual's railroad retirement annuity by depriving such individual of the full advantage of the so-called social security guarantee formula in the computation of his or her annuity; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2926. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to increase from 2 to 2½ percent the retirement multiplication factor used in computing annuities of certain employees engaged in hazardous duties; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. WHITEHURST:

H.R. 2927. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide that officers appointed in the Medical Service Corps of the Navy from other commissioned status shall not lose rank or pay or allowances; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. WHITEHURST (for himself and Mr. ROBERT W. DANIEL, Jr.):

H.R. 2928. A bill to amend the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of January 2, 1971 (Public Law 91-646); to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BOB WILSON:

H.R. 2929. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, in order to remove an inequity from the laws concerning medical care for dependents of members of the uniformed services; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2930. A bill to amend the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 2931. A bill to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to authorize establishment of national standards for threads and couplings, of firehoses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California:

H.R. 2932. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to include a definition of food supplements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 2933. A bill to improve the quality of unshelled filberts and shelled filberts for marketing in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 2934. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to remove the limitation upon the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYLIE:

H.R. 2935. A bill to revise the Welfare and Pension Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2936. A bill to revise the Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosure Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 2937. A bill to provide procedures for calling constitutional conventions for proposing amendment to the Constitution of the United States, on application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States, pursuant to article V of the Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2938. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase to \$4,200 the annual amount individuals are permitted to earn without suffering deductions from the insurance benefits payable to them under such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYLIE (for himself, Mr. FREY, and Mr. WHALEN):

H.R. 2939. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the first \$3,000 of an individual civil service retirement annuity (or other Federal retirement annuity) shall be exempt from income tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYLIE:

H.R. 2940. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide for cost-of-living increases in the annuities and pensions (and lump-sum payments) which are payable thereunder; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 2941. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide for cost-of-living increases in compensation, dependency, and indemnity compensation, and pension payments; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. YOUNG of Florida:

H.R. 2942. A bill to establish a national land use policy, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make grants to assist the States to develop and implement State land use programs, to coordinate Federal programs and policies which have a land-use impact, to coordinate planning and management of Federal lands and planning and management of adjacent non-Federal lands, and to establish an Office of Land Use Policy Administration in the Department of the Interior, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2943. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase to \$3,000 the amount of outside earnings which (subject to further increases under the automatic adjustment provisions) is permitted each year without any deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 2944. A bill to make the use of a firearm to commit certain felonies a Federal crime where that use violates State law, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H.J. Res. 236. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to prevent a Member of Congress from serving more than 12 consecutive years in either the House or the Senate; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BELL:

H.J. Res. 237. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for the direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H.J. Res. 238. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the first day of January of each year as Appreciate America Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILFORD:

H.J. Res. 239. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for the direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NEDZI (for himself, Mr. O'HARA, Mrs. GRIFFITHS, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. BROOMFIELD, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, and Mr. HUBER):

H.J. Res. 240. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the assignment of public school students; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROY:

H.J. Res. 241. Joint resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the foreign economic policy of the United States in connection with its relations with the Soviet Union and any other country which uses arbitrary and discriminatory methods to limit the right of emigration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.J. Res. 242. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States lowering the age requirements for membership in the Houses of Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 243. Joint resolution to provide for a 1974 centennial celebration observing the introduction into the United States of hard red winter wheat; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 244. Joint resolution to create a select joint committee to conduct an investigation and study into methods of significantly simplifying Federal income tax return forms; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WYLIE:

H.J. Res. 245. Joint resolution to establish a Joint Committee on the Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H. Con. Res. 95. Concurrent resolution expressing congressional recognition of a declaration of general and special rights of the mentally retarded; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. Res. 161. Resolution relative to Irish national self determination; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DIGGS:

H. Res. 162. Resolution authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to conduct an investigation and study of the organization, management, operation, and administration of departments and agencies of the Government of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HALEY:

H. Res. 163. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

to make investigations into any matter within its jurisdiction, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ROY:

H. Res. 164. Resolution to create a Select Committee on Aging; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WYLIE:

H. Res. 165. Resolution maintaining U.S. sovereignty, Panama Canal Zone; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BAKER:

H.R. 2945. A bill for the relief of Jesse McCarver, Georgia Villa McCarver, Kathy McCarver, and Edith McCarver, to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia (by request):

H.R. 2946. A bill to convey certain lands located in Spotsylvania County, Va., to J. E. Bashor and Marie J. Bashor; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 2947. A bill for the relief of Giuseppa Alessandrini (nee Belacchi); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2948. A bill for the relief of Andreas A. Antypas, and his wife Barbel Antypas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2949. A bill for the relief of Antonio L. Azores; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2950. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Gertrude Berkley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2951. A bill for the relief of James Phillip Briggs; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2952. A bill for the relief of George E. Chiplock; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2953. A bill for the relief of Edna Clarke; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2954. A bill for the relief of Col. and Mrs. Allen B. Crane; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2955. A bill for the relief of Robert L. Johnston; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2956. A bill for the relief of Thomas A. Lucid; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2957. A bill for the relief of M. Sgt. Robert M. Stachura; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2958. A bill for the relief of Jane M. Vida; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2959. A bill for the relief of Charles D. Waldron; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. HOLT:

H.R. 2960. A bill for the relief of D. Jane Klemer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 2961. A bill to incorporate in the District of Columbia the National Inconvenient Sportsmen's Association; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROE:

H.R. 2962. A bill for the relief of Sister Amelia Callegarin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROY:

H.R. 2963. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Clare McManigal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause I of the rule XXII, 32. The SPEAKER presented petition of the city council, Worcester, Mass., relative to the proposed moratorium on urban funds; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.